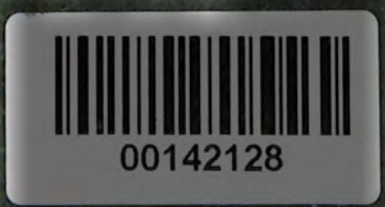
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MAP OF ARMENIA.

HISTORY OF ARMENIA

BY

FATHER MICHAEL CHAMICH;

FROM B. C. 2247 TO THE YEAR OF CHRIST 1780,
OR 1229 OF THE ARMENIAN ERA,

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ARMENIAN,

BY

JOHANNES AVDALL, Esq.

MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, &c.

TO WHICH IS APPENDED A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY BY THE TRANSLATOR FROM THE YEAR 1780 TO THE PRESENT DATE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

CALCUTTA:

PRINTED AT BISHOP'S COLLEGE PRESS, BY H. TOWNSEND.

1827.

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Զի՝ և ազգի ևս նախնականի՝ և քաջ և արգասաւոր՝ ոչ միայն ՚ի բանս և ՚ի պիտանաւորս խոհականութիս. այլ և ՚ի մեծամեծս և ՚ի բազում գործս արժանաւորս՝ զորս յիշատակեսցուք ՚ի կարգի պատմութեանս, յորժամ զորդի ՚ի հօրէ ծննդաբանեսցուք ազգաբանիկեմք զբովանդակն։

Մովսէս Խորենացի։

Quippe natio hæc antiquissima non solùm consiliis utilibus ac prudentibus eximia fuit & fœcunda, verûm etiam ob multas res præclarè gestas gloriâ & laude digna; quas quidem ordine historiarum memorabimus, cum integras patrum propagines recensebimus.

Moses Chorenensis, lib. 1, *cap.* 1, *p.* 1, *ed. Whistonn.*

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ERRATA:

Page 73, *line* 27, *for* reinforce *read* to reinforce.
Page 84, *line* 27, *for* were *read* was.
Page 94, *line* 9, *for* extracted *read* extricated.
Page 103, *line* 2, *for* Abgarus *read* Abgar.

TO

THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,

GENTLEMEN,

BRITISH INDIA may justly boast of an enlightened and liberal Government, under which every Individual lives in safety and happiness. She may also feel a pride in the indefatigable labours of a number of learned and evangelical Men, who, being inspired by Divine Revelation, have endeavoured, and continue in their endeavours, to spread the light of the Gospel over this extensive country of heathen darkness. She may, in like manner, feel herself happy in the establishment of your most respectable and highly interesting Society; which has so successfully removed the barriers of Oriental Learning and Science; and opened rich stores for the speculation and information of the Learned, and for the general benefit of Mankind.

I cannot, but with respect and veneration mention here the name of that illustrious man, Sir William Jones, the founder of your respectable Society; whose indefatigable labours have given birth to so excellent an Institution, and whose laudable endeavours have succeeded in promoting the grand object he had in view. Emulating his bright example, you have with praise-worthy exertions laboured to aid the march of general knowledge, by the production and translation of various original monuments of ancient and more modern times; the perusal of which in your Researches has filled my mind with profound regard to your excellent Institution, and with a fervent wish for its continuance and increased success.

Under these gratifying circumstances, and urged by a sense of respect and esteem towards such an honourable body,—for your literary productions have rendered you truly honourable,—I take the liberty of expressing my admiration and paying a tribute to your laudable exertions. In fulfilling this duty, I see no other better mode, than by soliciting to dedicate to your Society "THE HISTORY OF ARMENIA," *which is a humble attempt at translation into English by*

a Foreigner, whose knowledge of your highly cultivated language cannot but be imperfect. Accept, then, this work, as an humble tribute of my veneration to the memory of the immortal Sir William Jones, the founder of your excellent Society—and, as a token of my esteem and regard for your laudable exertions in the cause of general literature.

I remain,

Gentlemen,

With great regard and esteem,

Your most humble and devoted servant,

JOHANNES AVDALL.

Calcutta, 4th of October, 1826,

PREFACE.

ARMENIA is eminently distinguished among the countries of Asia, by the political changes which she has undergone, and by the connection which exists between certain periods of her history and the histories of Rome and Greece. When we consider the origin of her state, the progress of her power during her independence, and the various revolutions that happened in her government during a long period of successive ages, we may reasonably conclude that the History of Armenia is replete with interesting events. But, notwithstanding these circumstances, the ancient state of that country is very little known to the curious and learned of Europe; and considering their indefatigable spirit of enterprize in the path of letters, it is no less a matter of surprise than regret that the Europeans have almost entirely neglected the cultivation of Armenian Literature. Indeed, there are few who have directed their attention to the Armenian Language, and those who have studied it, have not attained that proficiency which could have enabled them to add much to the stock of Oriental Knowledge, already collected in the literary hive of Europe. A History of Armenia by Moses of Khoren, extending to the middle of the fifth century, was translated into Latin about a

hundred years ago by two sons of the celebrated William Whiston, and published in London with the text, but scarcely a copy of it can at present be procured, except in College Libraries or in the collections of the curious. A complete History of Armenia has been long considered a great desideratum. Travellers from various parts of Europe have journeyed through the extensive plains of Armenia, but all the information they have gained respecting that unfortunate country have been very limited, mostly confined to the local history of the mouldering ruins of her ancient greatness and magnificence. Indeed, since Armenia lost her freedom, European travellers have considered her as a province of the kingdom which subjugated her, and have not directed their enquiries to her former state as an independent power.

These circumstances induced me to attempt the translation of the present volume, which is a complete History of Armenia, from the formation of the nation to the present day. As a translator it is essentially necessary for me to give due information in my prefatory remarks of the nature of the work, as well as of every other circumstance connected with the translation. In the first place, I shall speak of the motives which guided me in undertaking the translation. Secondly, of the author of the work and the Venetian Society, of which he was a member. Thirdly, of his partiality in religious affairs. Fourthly, of the ancient historians from whose works his history was compiled. Fifthly, of the division of the work into periods, and of the principal events

which have occurred in each. Lastly, of the continuation of the History to the present day, and conclusion.

I.—The lamentable condition of Armenia, the degraded state of her church, the expatriation of the sons of Haic, and the tyranny of their barbarous oppressors, have long been to me a matter of serious and melancholy reflection. That feeling of patriotism, which exists in the breast of every human being, naturally inspired me with grief on observing the abject slavery of my most beloved country. Centuries of servitude under foreign yokes have almost obliterated from the minds of my unfortunate countrymen all recollection of their former liberty, and rendered them objects of indifference to the rest of the christian world. As a native of that degraded country, I have long felt the weight of her calamity, and earnestly desired to offer my services to her. Influenced by these considerations, I some years since contemplated the utility of presenting a translation of the history of my ancestors to the literary world, under a conviction that by this means a generous desire would be excited in the breasts of the christians of the West to ameliorate the calamitous condition of my once glorious country. In this view I was greatly encouraged by the coinciding feelings of my learned friend Mr. Martirus Mackertich David, who repeatedly exhorted me to attempt such an undertaking, being himself convinced that an English translation of the History of Armenia would prove a very acceptable present to the learned of Europe, and might do much to better the condition of our country. I therefore determined to devote a portion of my leisure hours to the

task of translating the History of Armenia into English: a very laborious task indeed, and exceedingly difficult to a foreigner. But in my present literary enterprize I have availed myself of the kind assistance of some English gentlemen. These are Messrs. Charles Hutchins and J. J. Hawkins, to whom I express thus publicly my warmest and most sincere acknowledgements.

II.—The author of the History is the celebrated Father Michael Chamich, a native of Constantinople, who about the middle of the eighteenth century proceeded to Venice and joined the Mukhitharian society of *San Lazaro*. This society was founded in the year 1712 by Mukhithar of the city of Sebastia, an individual of high intellectual and moral endowments. The members thereof are all clerical persons, who have embraced the persuasion of the church of Rome. Although it is a circumstance much to be deplored, that they have abandoned the cause of their national church, yet I cannot refrain from applauding the extraordinary progress they have made in literature. The astonishing improvement they have made in our language, the number of useful books which they have published,—except their controversial works on religion, which are calculated to do more harm than good to the nation,—the excellent types brought into use by them, extort from us admiration and praise. Father Michael Chamich has particularly distinguished himself among the members of this useful society, by many valuable and meritorious publications; among which that of the History of Armenia claims the pre-eminence. In the year 1786 he published an enlarged

History of Armenia in three large quarto volumes, of about 1,000 pages each, compiled from the historical works of various authors who flourished in Armenia in various times, and wrote the accounts of their own days, of whom I shall give a detailed biographical account in its proper place. In the year 1811, Father Chamich published an abridgment of his own history, of which the present volume is a translation. In this some references are made by the author to the enlarged history, for example, "See Hist. B. I. c. 3.", which I have inserted in the beginning of my translation, but I subsequently thought proper to omit them. I would have made notes at the end of each of these references, had I not been convinced that they would have considerably increased the size of the work, and obliged me to issue a third volume, while the support I have hitherto received is barely sufficient to defray the expenses incurred in printing the two.

III.—I am compelled by a love of truth, and not by a spirit of religious controversy, to speak briefly of the partiality of Father Michael Chamich in religious affairs. Perhaps it would not be uninteresting to give a detailed explanation to the reader on this head, but considering the abridged form of the present volume, I deem it necessary to make my remarks in as few words as possible.

Father Michael Chamich, though an Armenian by birth, was attached to the Romish Church, as I have stated above. In his preface to the enlarged History he promises to write with impartiality, and to shew the truth in his writing, but alas! in the course of the ecclesiastical

part of the History he forgets what he promised, and insidiously endeavours to bias the minds of the credulous and the ignorant with prejudices favourable to his own persuasion. He makes use of every trifling incident in the history to advocate the cause he defends; and tries by every means in his power to instil into the minds of his readers a favourable idea of the church of Rome.

He begins from the year of Christ 431 to deviate from truth in the course of his ecclesiastical history. He commends those who were united to the church of Rome, and endeavours to refute the assertions of those historians who have written against the proceedings of the popish usurpers. He calls thē opposers of the Romanists calumniators, and endeavours to persuade the readers that their writings are mere misrepresentations. He treats the writings of the more ancient and learned Armenian authors in a very different manner, as they have not openly opposed the doctrines of the Romish church, but, according to the circumstances of their own times, have occasionally endeavoured in mild language to bring the Roman disputants to submission to the Armenian pontiff. In general, they have not spoken in decided opposition to the doctrines of the Pope, and hence Father Michael assimilates these ancient and learned writers to those who have abandoned the cause of their own church, and embraced the errors of the Roman catholics. He quotes from these writers in a very interested manner, in order to prove his falsehood and unfounded assertions. In consequence of these

misrepresentations, the author Father Chamich has created many opponents among the Armenians, who have severely censured him for his garbled statements. As the present abridgment is a Mirror of his enlarged history, a similar spirit of unfairness pervades this volume. If I were to attempt a refutation of all the author's misrepresentations of the works of our ancient writers, the size of the present volumes would be increased to double their size. Consequently, passing over the tedious length of these religious disputes, I think it sufficient to bring the following example, whereby the reader can be able to judge of the whole.

According to the chronology of the author, Johannes Oznensis the Philosopher, was raised to the pontifical chair of Armenia in the year of Christ 718. All the Armenian and foreign historians agree in saying, that this pontiff was an inveterate enemy of the council of Chalcedon, and wrote many things against the Chalcedonians, several of whom he banished from the country of Armenia. In consequence of this opposition, Johannes Oznensis is called a heretic by the Romanists, who, together with the Armenian Papists anathematize him in their churches, considering him as a cause of the division of the Armenian church from that of Rome. Father Michael Chamich asserts in his enlarged history, that Johannes Oznensis had accepted the council of Chalcedon, contrary to the assertions of the historians who then flourished in Armenia. In a most laboured and tedious disquisition of about 100 pages, the author endeavours to persuade the reader that there must be

a mistake in the name of Johannes the Philosopher and another individual of that name, and that the spirit of opposition to the Chalcedonians was erroneously attributed to Johannes the Philosopher instead of another person of the same name. In consequence of this open falsehood of the author, some of the Armenian nation who have joined the Roman Catholic church, boldly opposed him; and this religious dispute was for some time carried on with great acrimony on both sides.

From this single example the reader may be able to judge of the other misrepresentations with which Father Chamich has garbled the facts relating to religious points. It is also worthy of remark, that the members of the Armenian church are not entirely exempt from censure on account of religious discussions. Several of these have at different times attacked their Roman Catholic brethren, and excited great persecution against them; yet the main cause of all these mischiefs are the Roman Catholics themselves. Those Armenians who have gone over to the church of Rome, are called by the members of the Armenian church, Arians and Eutychians. An anathema is periodically pronounced in the Armenian church against the renegadoes, who do all they can to ridicule our old national customs, because they are prejudicial to the tenets of the church of Rome. From such disputes arise the rancorous passions of hatred and revenge, which are generally followed by sad consequences both to those who harbour them and those against whom they are directed.

IV.—Armenia has produced a multitude of historians,

but I shall, in imitation of the learned Father Michael Chamich, only mention here the names of those from whose works the present volume is compiled. In doing this, I shall observe the order of the age in which they flourished in Armenia.

AGATHANGELUS, secretary to king Tiridates, flourished in the beginning of the fourth century. He wrote the Memoirs of Tiridates and St. Gregory the Illuminator, at the particular desire of the king. But it cannot be ascertained in what language the historian wrote his work. Some, however, assert that the history was written in the Armenian language with Greek characters; while others are of opinion that it was written in Greek and translated from it into Armenian. The latter is more probable, as a complete history of Agathangelus, written in the Greek language, exists to this day. This valuable work was published in Constantinople in the year 1709, or the Haican era 1158.

ZENOBIUS, a Syrian bishop, and one of the scholars of St. Gregory the Illuminator, flourished in the beginning of the fourth century. He was called by the surname of Gilak, and appointed by St. Gregory prior of the convent of Innaknian in Taron. From his surname the convent subsequently took the appellation of Gilak. At the particular desire of St. Gregory, Zenobius wrote a narrative of the events of his own time, giving an account of St. Gregory's visit to Cesarea, his ordination as a bishop by Levondius the metropolitan of that place, and the wars of king Tiridates on the frontiers of Taron, &c. This work was originally published in Constanti-

nople in the year 1719, H. E. 1168, and subsequently in Calcutta, by Mr. Gentloom Aviet, in the year 1814.

Buzand or Byzand, who is also called Phostos Byzandensis, flourished in the fourth century. He was a Greek, and an excellent scholar. He wrote a History of Armenia; it is uncertain whether he wrote it in Greek or Armenian, but from his birth I should be of opinion that he wrote it in the former. Lazarus Pharpensis calls his work the Second History of Armenia, the history of Agathangelus being considered the first in order. This work was published in Constantinople in the year 1730, Haican era 1179. His history commences with the reign of Khosrove the Second, the son of Tiridates, and ends with that of Khosrove the Third, king of Armenia, the whole extending to A. D. 390.

Koreun, a skilful and learned translator, surnamed the Wonderful, flourished in Armenia in the fifth century. He was one of the eminent and distinguished disciples of St. Mesrop and St. Isaac. After the death of his venerable masters, Koreun wrote their memoirs at the particular desire of St. Joseph the Pontiff. He also gives an account of the invention of the Armenian characters, of the version of the Holy Scriptures and other useful works into Armenian, as well as of the literary productions of his fellow disciples, both in original compositions and translations.

Moses Chorenensis, surnamed the Rhetorician, flourished in the fifth century. He was one of the distinguished scholars of St. Mesrop. At the request of Isaac the Bagratian Noble he wrote a History of Armenia from the

formation of the nation by Haic to the end of the royal line of the Arsacidæ, and to the termination of the pontifical power in the house of St. Gregory the Illuminator. His work is compiled from the best authorities, written in the purest style, and divided into there books, the whole extending to the year of our Lord 440. The first part of the History of Chorenensis is founded on information derived from records of events which happened before the reign of Alexander the Great, according to the testimony of Maribas the famous Syrian historian, who discovered these documents. A correct account of the ancient Armenian kings till the time of Valarsaces is recorded in the history of the latter, of which Chorenensis avails himself by abundant quotations. From this period to the third century the facts narrated in the history are collected from different sources, principally from historians who wrote accounts of their own times. Chorenensis makes ample quotations from Africanus, an eminent historian, on whom Eusebius bestows great praise in his Ecclesiastical History. The valuable work of Africanus is not, however, handed down to us. The latter part of the History of Chorenensis is composed from different records extant in our nation, written in Greek and Persian characters under the various Armenian chiefs. The history of Chorenensis, together with his Geography, has been published in several places and in different times. These were translated into Latin by the two brothers, William and George Whiston, as I have before stated, and published with the text in London in the year 1736. The work of translation,

undertaken by these learned foreigners, must have proved very arduous to them. It is evident that the real meaning of the author, in several passages, has not been sufficiently understood by the translators, who appear to have been unacquainted with the literary character of the author.

Elishey the Monk flourished in the fifth century. He was a fellow-scholar of Moses Chorenensis, and a relative of St. Vardan, the famous Armenian general, to whom he was secretary. By desire of that excellent priest David the Mamiconian, he wrote in a beautiful style an account of the destruction of the country of Armenia by the cruel Hazkert king of Persia, of the memorable martyrdoms of the Vardanian and Levondian Saints, and of the calamities that subsequently befel the Armenian chiefs, the whole extending to the year 463. His work has been published in Constantinople in the year 1764, or the Haican era 1213; in Nakhjuan in the year 1787, and in Calcutta in the year 1816, by Mr. Gentloom Aviet.

Lazarus Pharpensis, surnamed the Rhetorician, flourished in the fifth century. In his infancy he was placed under the immediate tuition of St. Isaac and St. Mesrop; and he finished his education under the care of the blessed Alan the Arzrunian. He takes a cursory view of the events recorded in the histories of Agathangelus and Phostos Byzandensis. Soon after the period of the extinction of the Arsacidean royalty, Lazarus gave a very detailed account of the martyrdoms of the Vardanian and Levondian saints, as well as of all the events that occurred in Armenia during his own time. He also

narrates at full length the events that occurred during the generalship of Vahan the Mamiconian, at whose request he composed his history, which extends to the period of Vahan's elevation to the dignity of the prefecture of Armenia, as far as the year 485. His work was published at the convent of *San Lazaro* in Venice in the year 1793.

THOMAS the Arzrunian flourished at the end of the fifth century or beginning of the sixth. He was educated by one of the pupils of St. Elishey the Historian. A few only of his works have been handed down to us, which treat of the lives of St. Vardan and Vahan the Arzrunian, and the heretical exertions of Barzumah the Nestorian, the whole extending to the year 500.

JOHANNES, bishop of the Mamiconians, flourished in the seventh century. He wrote a narrative of the wars of the Mamiconians with the Persians, and an account of the exploits of Mushel, Vahan the Wolf, &c. His history extends to the year 640. This work was published at Constantinople in conjunction with that of Zenobius in the year 1719, Haican era 1168.

JOHANNES CATHOLICUS, a native of Dashonakert, a scholar and relation of the blessed Mashtoz, flourished at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. He succeeded his venerable master in the pontifical throne of Armenia. Some, however, consider him to be a native of Garney or Duin. He wrote in a most excellent style a History of Armenia from the formation of the nation by Haic to the reign of Ashot the Second, the Bagratian king, extending to the year 920. He also wrote a brief account of all the Armenian pontiffs, com-

mencing with St. Gregory the Illuminator and ending at the period of his own succession. His works have never been printed, though more than one manuscript copy is preserved in the library of the Venetian Conventuals.

Mesrop the Priest flourished in the tenth century. He was a native of the valley of Voyoz in the village of Holozim. He wrote a narrative of the memoirs of St. Nierses the Great, taken from the history of Phostos Byzandensis, with an addition of some prayers and visions. This work was published in Madras in the year 1775, Haican era 1224. In the beginning of this edition is annexed a short account of some events that occurred in Georgia, of the rise and origin of the Orbelians, and of the invasion of Armenia by the Tartars. The editor of this work, however, appears to ascribe the additional narrative to Mesrop; but from the date of the events it can easily be perceived, that the author must have been another individual; for Mesrop lived in the tenth century, and the narrative in question extends to the twelfth century. It cannot, however, be exactly ascertained by whom the work was written, though some ascribe it to Stephen the Orbelian, who lived about the period of which it treats.

Stephen of Taron flourished at the end of the tenth century. He is known by the surname of Asolik or Asolnik, and was contemporary with St. Gregorius Narekensis. He wrote a complete History of Armenia from the formation of the nation by Haic to the reign of the Bagratian king Gagik the First, and to the pontificate of Sarkies, at whose particular desire he com-

posed his work. It extends to the year of our Lord 1000. He is more explicit thanthe other historians in regard to chronology.

Aristakes Lastivertensis flourished in the eleventh century. His history commences with the reign of the Bagratian king Gagik the First, and ends at the period of the capture of the city of Ani by Alphaslan, and the subsequent defeat of the emperor Diogenes, extending to the year 1071. His work is written in an elegant and pathetic style, abounding with lamentable reflections on the miseries that infested the country of Armenia.

Mathew Urhahensis the Abbot flourished in the twelfth century. He wrote a History of Armenia, from the reign of the Bagratian king Ashot the Third to that of Thorose and Leo the First the Reubeni an princes, extending to the year 1128.

Gregory the Priest flourished in the twelfth century. He wrote a continuation of the history of Mathew Urhahensis, narrating the events of his own time, or to the eighteenth year of the reign of Thorose the Second, A. D. 1161.

Samuel the Priest, of the city of Ani, flourished in the twelfth century. He wrote a short history from the creation of the world to the pontificate of Gregory, the brother of Nierses the Graceful, at whose desire it was composed. His work is also known by the appellation of Chronicle or Chronology, extending to the year 1164, Haican era 613.

Nierses Clajensis, or Shinorhali (the Graceful) flourished in the twelfth century. He was the brother of

Gregory Vikayaser the Little, and rose to the pontifical dignity of Armenia. Of this prelate we have many things to write in the course of our history. Besides several other excellent works, he composed a brief history of Armenia in verse from the period of Haic to his own days, which has been published in various times and places in conjunction with his other poems. He wrote a lamentation on the destruction of the city of Edessa by the infidels, and several useful epistles, from which many historical facts have been collected.

KIRAKUS GAZAKENSIS, one of the scholars of the monk Vanakan, flourished in the thirteenth century. He wrote a history of Armenia, commencing with the reign of Tiridates and extending to that of Leo, who was the first among the Reubenian race that ruled in Cilicia. He gives a detailed account of the invasions of the Scythians and the irruptions of the Tartars, extending to the year 1260.

VARDAN, one of the pupils of Vanakan, and fellow-scholar of Kirakus, flourished in the thirteenth century. He wrote a brief history from the creation of the world to the reign of Hethum the First, and to the death of the pontiff Constantine, extending to the year 1272.

MALACHI the monk, flourished shortly after Kirakus and Vardan, in the days of king Leo, and the pontiff Jacobus Clajensis. He wrote a history of the irruptions of the Tartars into the country of Armenia, and other events extending to the year 1272.

VAHRAM the monk flourished in the thirteenth century. He wrote in verse by desire of Leo the Third a history

of the Reubenian princes from their origin to the reign of that monarch, extending to the year 1280.

Thomas Mezobensis the monk, flourished in the fifteenth century. He wrote a faithful account of the enormities committed by the tyrant Tamerlane and other invaders of the country of Armenia. He also gives an account of the repairs of the pontifical house in Etchmiatchin, extending to the year 1447.

Arackiel the monk, a native of Tabriz, flourished in the seventeenth century. He was one of the members of the fraternity of Etchmiatchin. At the particular desire of Philip the pontiff, he commenced writing a history of his own times; but after labouring at it for four years, the death of the pontiff put a stop to its further progress. He was, however, duly encouraged by Jacob, successor of the late pontiff, to carry on the history, and after the lapse of four years more he was enabled to finish it. The whole work comprises a narrative of sixty years, beginning from the year 1601, and ending in the year 1662. A brief extract of the succession of the Armenian pontiffs is annexed to it, but not much dependance is to be placed on its accuracy, according to the testimony of the author himself. This history was published at Amsterdam in the year 1669, Haican era 1118, by the celebrated Doctor Voskan. A brief chronology is annexed at the end of this edition, but it is far from being regular and faithful.

Besides the above histories, there is a very voluminous work entitled, "The Daily Readings of the Church." This is not the work of a single individual, but was written by different Armenian authors, who lived at

various times. The following are the worthies who composed the above volume: Gagik, abbot of the fraternity of St. Atom, in the ninth century; Deacon Gregory his contemporary; Gregory Vikayaser the Great, the son of Gregorius Magistratus, in the eleventh century; Gregory Vikayaser the Little, the brother of Nierses the Graceful, in the twelfth century; Gregorius Anavarzensis, in the beginning of the fourteenth century; Kirakus the monk, surnamed Arevelzie, who lived a little after the death of the preceding writer. Last of all Gregorius Khilathensis, who flourished in the fifteenth century, and made several useful additions to the above work. This voluminous work embraces the records of the religious characters of Armenia, interspersed with other facts connected with the Armenian church. It was published at Constantinople by Gregory of Marzuan, in the year 1706, or 1155 of the Haican era.

Another work, similar to the above, is extant among the Armenians. It is entitled, "Selections of Annals and Anecdotes," embracing the records of various political and religious events that occurred in Armenia at different periods. It is not known by whom the above compilation was written, but I clearly perceive that it must be the production of several Armenian writers, who lived at different epochs, each individual recording such things as fell under his notice.

It is also worthy of remark, that there are more than ten Armenian authors whose productions have not yet come to our hands. These are Ukhtanes bishop of Urha, Herakl, Khosrove, Levond, Sumbat, Thomas who

recorded the cruelties committed in Armenia by Bulah the Saracen, Shapuh the Bagratian, Moses of Kalkant, who wrote a history of the Aluans, Hamam the monk, Mukhithar of Ani, and two other monks named Sarkavak and Vanakan. I may add to these the monk Zechariah Zorzorensis, who wrote an account of the ecclesiastical assemblies held in Armenia, the monk Khoren Saharuney, who wrote a chronological account of the Armenian monks, and another writer named Abusahl. On the discovery of these most valuable manuscripts, much light will be thrown on the literature of Armenia, and great benefit derived by those who may at a future period be inclined to publish a more enlarged and improved history of Armenia.

I may as well notice, for the information of the reader, that the present history has not been compiled only from the records of the Armenian writers enumerated above, but also from those of the Greek and Roman authors, who have noticed such events of the country of Armenia as were connected with Greece and Rome. These are Xenophon, Diodorus of Sicily, Sallust, Titus Livius, Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, Plutarch, Eusebius Cæsariensis, Socrates, Procopius, Nicetas and others too numerous to be detailed here.

V.—Our history is divided into seven parts, each exhibiting the political changes that took place in the country. The first part embraces a period of 1779 years, commencing at the time of the general deluge, or the year of the creation of the world 1757, according to the Jewish chronology, or 2663 according to the Septuagint.

In the beginning of this period the foundation of the Armenian monarchy was established by Haic, the fourth descendant of the second general father of mankind. Haic greatly distinguished himself in defeating the Syrian king Belus, and in relieving his countrymen from the tyranny of his adversary. For this heroic act Haic was generally acknowledged as the grand progenitor of the Armenian nation, and all his descendants are called by the name of Haics (Armenians) after his name. The Haican power thus happily established by Haic, was carried to the highest pitch of glory by his wise and powerful successors, who distinguished themselves by prudence and valour in the wars which they engaged in with the Syrians, the Medes, the Jews, and other neighouring nations of the East. The kingdom of Armenia, like many others, had its fall after a long period of glory and prosperity. Vahey, the last of the Armenian kings, having rashly entered into a war with Alexander the Great, was defeated and slain by the conqueror, who took the country of Armenia under his command.

The second part embraces a period of 176 years, during which time Armenia was considered as a province of the powerful empire of Macedonia. The Armenians were at this period ruled by governors sent by the Macedonians, to whom Armenia was tributary until the rise of the Arsacidæ.

The third part comprises 580 years, commencing at the reign of Arsaces the Parthian, who, having rebelled against the Seleucidæ, proclaimed himself an independent monarch. Arsaces extended his sway over various coun-

tries, and released Armenia from the yoke of the Seleucidæ. Hence arose the kingdom of the Arsacidæ, under whose government Armenia shone with peculiar lustre for nearly six centuries. So many prosperous circumstances are comprised in this part, and so happy was Armenia in a civil and religious point of view, that all regard it as the brightest period of Armenian history. The Arsacian kings highly distinguished themselves in their wars with the Jews, the Romans, the Greeks, the Persians, and other aspiring foes, who were tempted by a thirst of conquest to invade Armenia. Christianity at this era first rose on the horizon of Armenia by the mission of St. Thaddeus the Apostle, who first preached the word of God in the country, and converted king Abgar, whose bright example was joyfully imitated by several of his subjects. The ecclesiastical history of Armenia takes its date from the beginning of the fourth century, when St. Gregory the Illuminator flourished, who by his zealous exertions succeeded in converting thousands of the population to christianity. The pontificate of Armenia originated in St. Gregory, and has continued to the present day. The building of churches, the invention of the Armenian letters, the version of the Holy Scriptures, the establishment of schools, the cultivation of literature, the foundation of convents and monasteries, have marked this period with many memorable and delightful recollections. Under these favourable circumstances Armenia for a long time enjoyed prosperity in her political and religious affairs. Time, however,

soon changed the state of things. Treason and disunion began gradually to weaken the government of the Arsacidæ; Greece and Persia by craft and outrage succeeded in partitioning Armenia between them, permitting the Armenian monarchs to hold only a nominal power. The Armenian chiefs were the principal instruments in overthrowing the kingdom of Armenia by their factious and ambitious proceedings; for, having preferred a complaint to the Persian king Viram, against their lawful king Artaces or Artashir, they caused him to be deposed from his royal dignity. By his deposition the Arsacidæ lost for ever their power over Armenia, and the country successively fell a prey to the strongest invader.

The fourth part embraces a period of 456 years. Armenia was from this time governed by prefects sent by the government of Persia, by the caliphs of Bagdad, and by the Greeks, being oppressed with every kind of persecution. We see in this part the extraordinary struggles of christianity against idolatry, the memorable martyrdoms of the Vardanians and Levondians, the treachery of the Vasakians, the heroic bravery of the Vahanians, and of other faithful Armenian chiefs, who shed their blood in defending their church from the profanation of the fire-worshippers, the Persians, and the infidel caliphs. Armenia was literally rendered a slaughter-house, churches were converted into temples for the worship of fire; priests were superseded by the infidel magi; clergy and laity were doomed to imprisonment or banishment, and exposed to the tortures of fire

and the rack. In short, a general gloom overspread Armenia till the rise of the Bagratian kings.

The fifth part comprises 160 or 220 years, commencing at the reign of Ashot, the first king of the race of the Bagratians. Ashot was elevated to the royal dignity under the auspices of the Caliph of Bagdad. During the reigns of the Bagratian kings, Armenia was for a time allowed to taste the sweets of peace and consequent prosperity, yet she was soon disturbed by internal factions and dissensions, by the incursions of foreign enemies, and by the cruelties of those powers to which she was tributary. The calamities of Armenia were finally crowned by the barbarous oppression of the Greeks, who being actuated by a spirit of inveterate enmity excited by religious differences, committed such dreadful enormities in this unhappy land, as caused the destruction of the Bagratian monarchy, which was followed by the most horrid invasions.

The sixth part embraces a period of 300 years, commencing with the reign of Reuben the First. The Reubenian princes usually held their court in the country of Cilicia, and were not invested with the absolute power of kings. A political intercourse was maintained with the Crusaders, whom the Armenians assisted with provisions during the time of a sore famine. Notwithstanding the wisdom and valour of the Reubenian princes, Armenia was constantly distressed by internal commotions, by hordes of invaders, by the incursions of Jenkhiz Khan and the other monarchs who wielded the sceptre of Scythia, by the cruelties of

the Greeks, by the irruptions of the Persians, the Egyptians, and several other aspiring foes, to whom Armenia was in turn tributary. The Reubenian monarchy was destroyed by the Egyptians, who made Leo, the last king of Armenia, prisoner, and from that time royalty was lost to Armenia.

The seventh and last part contains an account of the expatriation of the Armenians and of the state of the church to the year 1780. The irruptions of Tamerlane, the cruelties of Shah Abas, the inroads of the Turks, and of several other neighbouring foes, have rendered Armenia almost a total waste, having stripped her of all that was good and great. The ambitious and factious proceedings of the patriarchs of Constantinople, combined with the infamous juntoes of the Thulthulians, the Jahukians and the Tivrikians, and the turbulent spirit of other corrupt clergymen of Armenia, have placed a stigma on the Armenian church which can scarcely ever be removed, and poured scandal on the memory of the Holy St. Gregory the Illuminator. The saying of our blessed Saviour is truly verified in the depraved conduct of these unworthy ministers of the Gospel, "My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves."

Lastly, with a view to satisfy the curiosity of the reader, who will be naturally inclined to be put in possession of some information respecting the events that have passed in Armenia since the year 1780, I have thought it necessary to append to this volume a continuation of the history down to the present day,

being supplied with matter from the most authentic sources.

The map prefixed to the first volume is taken from that published by Father Chamich in his enlarged history, and appears to be correct.

In conclusion, I beg to offer the present translation to the reading public with the greatest diffidence, hoping that it will be kindly received and read by them as the production of a foreigner, whose knowledge of the English language must of necessity be imperfect. The publication of this work will, I hope, afford an ample field to the historian, the divine, the poet, and the observer of human life and manners, to exercise their talents in their different departments, upon the events that are here recorded of the once great and happy land of Armenia. I sincerely hope,—and every Christian and philanthropist ought to hope,—that the present translation will excite in the breasts of Christians of every denomination a feeling of sympathy for the fate of my oppressed country, and rouse the dormant embers of patriotism in the bosoms of my expatriated countrymen to exert all their power for the regeneration of Armenia.

Johannes Avdall.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

For the History of Armenia, Vol. I. Engd by E. de Le Combe

Stretched on the ground the vanquish'd Belus dies.
And gallant Haicus claims the victor's prize!

THE ORIGIN OF THE ARMENIANS.

AFTER the universal deluge, the three sons of Noah, Shem, Ham and Japheth, fixed themselves for a period in the country about Mount Ararat, upon which, it will be recollected by all conversant with ancient tradition, that the ark of their highly favoured parent first settled on the subsiding of the waters. Here they multiplied considerably, and the anger of the Almighty against the sinful children of men, being appeased, fertility again covered the face of the earth, and peace and joy once more took possession of the bosoms of its inhabitants. Shem was the first to break the intimate union which subsisted between the families of his brethren and his own. Observing the rapidity with which the little community increased, he assembled his family, and communicating to the several members of it his intentions, he bade adieu to his brethren, and accompanied by his

offspring, set out in a north-westerly direction, in search of a more commodious place of abode. In the course of a few days journey he arrived at the base of a lofty mountain, bounded by an extensive plain, and delightfully watered by a river, which passed through the middle of it. He rested two months on the banks of this river, and gave the neighbouring mountain the name of Shem, after himself. At the expiration of this period he resumed his journey, turning toward the south-east, leaving Taron, one of his younger sons, to settle in the country about the mountain to which he had given his name. The latter, on taking possession of his allotted inheritance, gave the land the name of Taron. It was subsequently called Taruberan. He then distributed to his several children portions of territory, all of which became, in course of time, populous provinces.

The families of Ham and Japheth, which had still remained connected together near Mount Ararat, in process of time became so numerous, that they entirely peopled the country afterwards known by the name of Armenia Major; the descendants of the former inhabiting the western parts, those of the latter retaining the original settlements about the mountain. It has been conjectured that the language in common use with these people, even at this early period,

was the Armenian; it is, however, certain that no records have been handed down to us by our forefathers concerning the origin of the language; but tradition goes so far as to assert positively that it is the identical one which was used by the first settlers in Armenia, who without doubt were the children of Ham and Japheth. These are the generations which immediately lead to the first Armenian lord or chief: Japheth begat Gomer, who was the father of Torgomah and Ascanaz: Torgomah was the father of Haicus, from whom are descended the Haics or Armenians. The etymological signification of Haicus is, the father or founder of a particular race of men. These, as I have before observed, are the Armenians, who, notwithstanding all the vicissitudes of fortune, amidst the direst persecutions that ever visited a people, have preserved the bond of union with a fortitude which, alas! has only marked them out to the rest of the world as fugitives and wanderers, I might almost add, as anomalies and exceptions to the social compact amongst mankind.

Having given this short account of the origin of the Armenians, we shall now commence a detail of the several events that have distinguished them under the different modes of government through which they have passed.

PART I.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE FORMATION OF THE NATION BY HAICUS, AND THE GOVERNMENT OF IT BY MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY; THE WHOLE EMBRACING A PERIOD OF 1779 YEARS.

CHAPTER I.

The Foundation of the Armenian Monarchy by Haicus.

Year of the creation of the world according to the Jews 1757; according to the Septuagint 2663.

HAICUS the son of Torgomah, on the dispersion of the descendants of Noah, in search of new places of habitation, took up his residence in the country of Senaar in Mesopotamia, together with his sons and daughters and their families. At this epoch Haicus was, according to the Jewish computation, 30 years of age; but by that of the Septuagint, 130; his great progenitor Noah was still in existence. Here he lived for a long period, witnessing the

events which happened during the erection of the Tower of Babel; the confusion of languages that ensued; the building of the city of Nineveh; and the foundation of sovereign power in Assyria by Belus. During this time, his descendants rapidly increased, and his sons Armenac, Manavaz and Core had already distinguished themselves by their wisdom and virtue.

The authority which Belus had succeeded in establishing over the country of Mesopotamia proving burthensome, Haicus, with his family, amounting to 300 persons, exclusive of servants, sought another place of abode. He first proceeded northward to the country round about Ararat, and here incorporated with his followers a number of individuals whom he found living in a state destitute of all form and order. These people spoke the original language of their ancestor Noah, but they had for a long time been almost entirely secluded from civilized intercourse with their fellow creatures. Haicus settled his grandson Cadmus, the son of Armenac, near Mount Ararat, and then proceeded with the rest of his family to the northwest. After a few days journey, he arrived on an extensive plain, to which he gave the name of Harc (fathers;) that his posterity might recollect that the founder and father of their nation was of the race of Torgomah, and the first who

1893; 2853.

took possession of it. Here he built a town, calling it after his own name, Haicashen, *i. e.* founded by Haicus, in which he dwelt with his descendants; the surrounding people, not yet formed into regular society, voluntarily submitting to the laws he had instituted for the government of his own family.

1896; 2856. On information reaching Belus, that Haicus had withdrawn from his authority, he dispatched to the latter a deputation, composed of one of his sons and twenty other persons, to recal him to obedience. Haicus, as it will be readily conceived, rejected with contempt this arbitrary invasion of the liberty of himself and his descendants. Belus then had recourse to arms, and collecting a large force, marched towards Armenia, into which he entered by the settlement formed, as we have stated, by Cadmus. On the approach of this hostile body, Cadmus immediately dispatched messengers to his grandfather, warning him of the nature of Belus's appearance. On the advance of the invaders, Cadmus, too weak for opposition, took refuge with Haicus, accompanied by all his family. Belus then marched forward to Haicashen, confident of subjugating the newly planted colony by the superiority of his numbers. In the mean time Haicus, gathered all his male descendants, with those people who had recently

submitted to him, and arming them as well as he was able, set out at their head to repel the invaders. His first halting place was on the shores of a lake or small sea called Van, upon which he marshalled his little army, and addressing them, declared it to be his intention on their falling in with Belus's army to attack that part of it where the latter commanded in person. "For," said he, "if we succeed in discomfiting that part, the victory is ours; should we, however, be unsuccessful in our attempt, let us never survive the misery and disgrace of a defeat, but rather perish sword in hand, defending the best and dearest right of reasonable creatures—our liberty!" He then resumed his march, and in the course of a short journey, came in view of the enemy's army. The spot from which Haicus discerned the troops of Belus was a small eminence in the middle of a large valley, entirely surrounded by mountains of terrific height, on the tops of which, opposite him, they appeared like a gloomy and tempestuous cloud. Belus having perceived the approach of Haicus, selected some of his best troops, and quitting the main body of his army, advanced to attack him. He was completely cased in iron armour, and surrounded on all sides by warriors habited in the same formidable manner as their Prince.

Haicus, observing their intentions, formed his order of battle, stationing Armenac and his two brothers on the right of his small force, and giving Cadmus with his two sons the charge of the left. He himself took his position in the front, his followers forming a triangle in the rear. The fight then commenced by a charge on the force of Haicus by the invaders. After a short, but bloody conflict, Belus was repulsed; and in endeavouring to effect a retreat to the main body of his army, he fell by an arrow discharged at him by Haicus, which hitting him on his brazen breastplate went through his body. Thus perished Belus at the age of 300 years; the whole of his army, panic-struck at the repulse they had suffered, and the death of their Prince, dispersed and fled. Haicus gathered much spoil from the property which had been left by the invaders in their flight. To commemorate this first success of his descendants in war, he built a village on the spot of his victory, to which he gave the name of "*The victory of the Haics.*" He caused the body of Belus to be embalmed and conveyed to Hare, where it was interred, and a large monument erected over it as a token of respect to his valour and greatness. The place where he fell was thenceforward called the Tombs.

The spoil being distributed amongst the vic-

tors, Cadmus returned to his former place of abode, and Haicus, with the remainder of his people, to Harc. The latter then founded a monarchical government, and his subjects becoming daily more numerous, the kingdom of the Haics or Armenians began to exhibit an aspect of power which rendered it an object of respect to all the states then in existence.

Vardan, speaking of the death of Belus by the hand of Haicus, calls the latter "the first champion of religion, for having refused to offer adoration to the statue of Belus, and for killing the latter, as the first introducer of idolatry amongst mankind!" According to the testimony of Maribas, Haicus was a man of an extremely imposing figure, and extraordinary strength; in height, rather tall, with sharp penetrating eyes, and hair of a silky softness. He was so powerful in his arms, that few of his subjects could bend his bow. In qualities of the mind, it is related that he was eminently distinguished, extremely slow and prudent in forming his determinations; but rapid, even to impetuosity, in the execution of them. This description tallies well with the valour and skill he displayed in all his actions, particularly in his encounter with Belus. After signalizing himself 1973; 2933
in various exploits against the powers by which he was at different times assailed, and forming

a code of laws for the regulation of his infant monarchy, he died in peace in his own country; having, according to Gregorius Magistratus, and Johannes Catholicus, attained a very advanced age. We have no precise account of the number of years he lived, but it is probable, according to the general duration of man's life at that period, stated in Jewish records to be from 4 to 500 years, that he reached the latter age. We have authentic accounts that he survived 80 years after the defeat and death of Belus. Haicus was succeeded in his authority by his son Armenac.*

The Haics or Armenians were also known by the appellations of Torgomeans, Ascanazians and Japhethians. The first of these is derived from Torgomah, the father of Haicus; the second from Ascanaz his uncle; and the third from Japheth his great grandfather. The country which they inhabited was called Haic, *i. e.* the abode of the Haics. Haicus had seven brothers; Carthlus, Bard, Movcan, Leca, Herar, Covcas, and Egres. Carthlus settled in the vicinity of Mount Ormuz, where he built a fortress, calling it Orbeth, from the name of his youngest son. This fortress was afterwards known by the name of Shamsholdey. The Chians subsequently inhabited this

* See Hist. B. 1, c. 3, and notes 1 to 5.

part and took the name of Orbethian or Orbelians. The eldest son of Carthlus built the city of Muzkitha, called after his own name. From him the Georgians are descended. The remainder of the brethren of Haicus dispersed themselves over various parts of Asia, and founded states which, in the lapse of a few ages, became great and powerful. Leca, otherwise Lec or Ghec, is the founder of the race of people subsequently known by the name of the Leczees.*

CHAPTER II.

The period between the Reigns of Armenac and Harma.

On the succession of Armenac to the government of the Haics or Armenians, he quitted Harc, where he left two of his brothers, Manavaz and Core, and accompanied by a large body of his people, advanced a few days journey to the north-east, when arriving on a plain, delightfully situated at the foot of a mountain, by which ran a river of the purest water, he halted and built a city there, calling it after himself, Aragaz or Armenagaz; *i. e.* the abode of Armenac. To the neighbouring moun- 1974; 2934.

* See Hist. B. 1, c. 3.

tain he gave the singular appellation of the Foot of Armenac. Here he fixed the seat of his government, and lived in peace until his death, which happened 46 years after he had assumed the government of his nation. According to the computation of the Septuagint, this prince held the supreme authority over the Haics for a period of 96 years. It is said that Armenac had 12 brothers and 24 sisters, who, by some curious caprice or predilection were called, the former by the names of the months of the year, the latter by those of the hours of the day.

1990; 2950. Manavaz the brother of Armenac, who with Core, had continued to reside in Harc, was the founder of the distinguished race of the Manavazians. The Buznoonians, of whom we shall frequently have occasion to speak hereafter, were descended from his son Buz, who about this period settled near the north-west shore of the sea of Akhthamar. Core is the ancestor of the powerful tribe of the Corcoreans, many of whom, as will hereafter appear, contributed greatly by their actions to spread the renown of Armenian virtue and valour through Asia.

2020; 3030. Aramais, the son of Armenac, after the death of his father, succeeded to the vacant sovereignty. He built a city of hewn stones on a small eminence in the plain of Aragaz, and near the

banks of the river before mentioned, which had received the name of Gihon. The new city, which afterwards became the capital of his kingdom, he called Armavir, after himself, and the name of the river he changed to Arax, after his son Arast. Aramais had several sons, one of whom Sharah, was the most ravenous glutton in the dominions of his father. Sharah had a numerous family, and on that account received peculiar marks of his father's favour. A portion of the most fertile land in the kingdom, situate near the river Akhoorian, was given him as a maintenance. Here he settled himself with his family, giving the country the name of Shirac. From the insatiable appetite of this prince, and the abundant fruitfulness of his lands, arose the ancient proverb, "If you have the craving stomach of Sharah, ours are not the granaries of Shirac!" Aramais having reigned about 40 years, or according to the Septuagint, 90 years, died, and was succeeded in his power by his son Amassia.

This Prince fixed the seat of his government in the city of Armavir. He had three sons, Gelam, Pharokh and Zolak. Shortly after he had assumed the supreme authority, he set out on a journey to Mount Ararat, accompanied by his sons. On his arrival there he built at the foot of it two villages, at the distance of a day's

2060 ; 3120.

journey from each other, both conveniently situated near springs of the purest water. Here he settled Pharokh and Zolak, naming the villages which he gave them Pharacote and Zolakert. He also changed the name of Mount Ararat, calling it the Foot of Masis, after himself; the district about the base of it he called the country of Masis. Amassia, shortly after, returned to Armavir, with his son Gelam, and
2092; 3202. died in the 32nd year of his reign. Gelam succeeded his father in the government of the Armenians. In the course of a few years, this Prince appointed his son Harma regent of the nation, and quitting Armavir with a large body of people, proceeded toward the north-east, with a view of extending his dominions, by the establishment of colonies. Having reached the sea of Sevan, he built a number of towns and villages along its shores, giving them the name of the Royal Establishments of Gelam. This sea was henceforward also known by the name of the sea of Gelam, and a high mountain situated near it, received the name of Mount Gel or Mount Gelam.

The whole of the lands on the borders of this sea were given by him to his son Sisac, a man, it is said, upon whom nature had bestowed the choicest of her gifts, which by a judicious education had been carried to a very high state

of perfection. In person he was of a towering height, and athletic make, yet with a countenance of the highest cast of manly beauty. His mental endowments and acquirements were of a no less distinguished nature. He was quick in his perception, and admirably just in his discrimination; gifted also with such a persuasive eloquence, that his rude contemporaries bestowed upon him the surname of the *Savoury*, or the man in whose language shone the highest excellence. He was the most skilful archer of the age in which he lived; and, indeed, in whatever point of view his character is taken, the same superiority is exhibited throughout. Sisac, on receiving this country from his father, covered the whole face of it with villages and hamlets, giving it the name of Sisakan. It is sometimes also called Seunic, and from these two appellations the inhabitants took the names of Sisakans and Seunics. Gelam, after settling the condition of this new province, proceeded eastward, and extended his dominions as far as the river Core; the inhabitants of the country, even to the Caspian Sea, willingly submitted to his sway, and took the name of Aluans, from one of his surnames. Gelam then returned into the heart of his kingdom, and founded a city near a stream at the foot of a mountain, which he called Gelamy, be-

tween the river Arax and the small sea of Sevan. This city was subsequently known by the name of Garnee, from the circumstance of its having been rebuilt by one of Gelam's grandsons of that name. Gelam took up his residence in this city, and lived there until his death, which happened in the 50th year of his reign. Harma, the son of Gelam, who had been appointed regent during the expeditions of his father, now succeeded to the title and power of king of Armenia. He fortified the city of Armavir, surrounding it with stone walls of great height and thickness. He also embellished it by the erection of several magnificent palaces within the walls, and ornamented the face of the adjacent country by building a number of pleasure-houses and caravansaries for the entertainment of travellers. He enjoyed his dignity in peace and security during a period of 31 years, when he died, and was succeeded by his son Aram.

2142; 3302.

CHAPTER III.

Reign of Aram to that of Anushavan.

ARAM ascended the throne of Armenia on the decease of the late monarch, and by his wisdom and policy greatly extended the dominions which had been bequeathed to him. The Armenian power, under the guidance of this prince, was acknowledged from Mount Caucasus to Mount Taurus, and the study of arts and arms experienced, during his reign, that nurture which rendered the Armenians in the succeeding ages so powerful and respected a nation. 2173; 3372.

Shortly after his assumption of the royal authority, his kingdom was invaded by the Medes, under their prince Neuchar, who had, for a period of two years previous to the death of Harma levied contributions on the inhabitants of the frontiers. On the news of the entrance of these enemies into the country, Aram collected a body of troops, consisting of 50,000 men, armed, according to the fashion of

the age, with bows and lances, and making a hasty and secret march toward the spot where the invaders lay, took them completely by surprise. Little resistance was made, and the Medes fled on all sides. A dreadful slaughter of them ensued, and Neuchar, being overtaken in his flight, was made prisoner and brought to Armavir, where he was nailed by the head to the fortifications of the city. Aram then subjugated that part of the territory of the Medes which lies between Armenia and Mount
2177; 3376. Zarasp. Three years after these events Armenia was invaded by Barsham, prince of the Babylonians, at the head of 40,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry. He was however quickly met by Aram and his troops, and defeated and slain. Aram immediately after this success marched toward Cappadocia, with an army of 40,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. He was gallantly opposed by Payabis, the prince of that country, who, however, was defeated and made prisoner. Aram confined his illustrious captive in an island in the Mediterranean Sea, conjectured to be Cyprus, and appointed Mishak, one of his followers, to the government of Cappadocia, ordering him to force the inhabitants to use only the Armenian language. He then returned to Armavir and made various improvements in his dominions, as well as in the condition of his

subjects. This prince was the first to raise the Armenian name to any degree of renown; so that contemporary nations, in making mention of the actions performed by his subjects under his personal direction, called them the deeds of the Aramians, or followers of Aram, a name which has been corrupted into Armenians: and the country they inhabited, by universal consent, took the name of Armenia. This is the origin of the denomination which now distinguishes our country among foreigners; and the more ancient one of Haics, which is similar, and indeed is the juster of the two, has sunk into disuse.

Mishak, the governor of Cappadocia, who is called Moshok by Greek historians, founded about this epoch a city in that country, and surrounded it with stone walls. He gave it the name of Mishak, after himself; but the Cappadocians, unable to pronounce it correctly, called it Majak. The name was subsequently changed to Cesarea or Gaysarey. This country being annexed to the dominions of Aram by right of conquest, and being the first acquisition of territory he made, received the name of Armenia in reference to his name: it should be recollected also, that his paternal kingdom, at the period of his father's death, was not known by the name of Armenia; but, as I have before stated, by that 2179; 3378.

of Haic. In the course of time, however, Aram extended his arms into other countries, which being reduced, received the name of their conqueror, like Cappadocia, only with this difference, that each was numbered according to priority of conquest. Thus, Cappadocia is styled the first Armenia; the next conquest, second Armenia; the next, third Armenia. Here the progress of Aram's arms ceased, and the whole three provinces were thenceforward called Armenia Minor, in reference to the country of Haic, which took the title of Armenia Major. One of the fifteen provinces of the latter, situate near the river Euphrates, borders on Armenia Minor, and is sometimes, in allusion to the divisions of the latter, called
2181; 3380. the fourth Armenia. At this period Aram was threatened with a formidable enemy in the person of Ninus, the powerful king of Assyria, who was a descendant of that Belus who had fallen by the hand of the great progenitor of the Armenian nation. Ninus recollecting this circumstance, meditated revenge on the posterity of Haicus, and would have invaded Armenia had it not been for his counsellors, who felt rather intimidated by the fame of Aram's skill and courage. The two monarchs, some time afterwards, entered into a bond of amity, Ninus bestowing on Aram a wreath of pearls,

then considered as a peculiar mark of honour, and giving him the title of his brother and colleague. Aram swayed the sceptre of Armenia for a period of 58 years, when he died and left the kingdom to his son Arah. During the reign of Aram, it appears, that the Armenians first became conscious of the extent of the resources of their country, and under the conduct of a wise and warlike sovereign made the surrounding nations sensible of their weight as a political body. National glory also first sprung into existence in the time of Aram; for, previous to the warlike operations, offensive and defensive, performed under his directions, the Armenians had not been accustomed to distinguish between private and public enmity. This era may be regarded as the dawn of that greatness which the Armenian nation afterwards attained, and which beamed with such lustre during the sway of the Arsacidæ.

Arah ascended the throne of Armenia after the death of the late monarch. He was surnamed the Handsome, from the extreme beauty of his person. Ninus, who had entered into such an intimate league with Aram, continued to distinguish his son with marks of regard no way inferior to those which he had shewn his father. Arah considerably improved the kingdom; and about Armavir, the capital, so many 2231; 3430.

buildings were erected by him, and so great was the content of the people residing near it, that by common consent that part of his dominions was called after him, Ararat or Ayrarat. The administration of public affairs, at that period, was so highly appreciated, that, by way of excellence it was named the Ayraratian government. Some years after the accession of Arah to the throne, his queen Nuardus was delivered of a son, who was
2233; 3432. named Cardus. Ninus died about this period, and was succeeded in the government of Assyria by his wife Semiramis, who was the first woman invested with sovereign power. She was of extremely loose principles, and having heard of the personal beauty of Arah, she sent him an offer of her hand and crown; or if he did not choose to marry her, she besought him to visit her at Nineveh to gratify her sensuality, when she would load him with riches, and permit him to return in safety to Armenia. Arah, disgusted at the grossness of the offer of the lustful queen, drove her ambassadors with disgrace out of his country.
2257; 3456. This brought on a war; Semiramis invading Armenia with a powerful army, Arah hastened at the head of his troops to oppose her. On the opposite armies joining battle, the Assyrian soldiers were charged by their queen to spare

the life of Arah, and to endeavour to take him alive. The issue of the fight proved disastrous to the Armenians; they were defeated, and their prince was slain in the 26th year of his reign. Semiramis, on learning this last circumstance, was deeply afflicted; and having procured his dead body, endeavoured to restore life to it by means of magical incantations. The Armenians, in the mean time, irritated at the fall of their king, prepared to revenge his death on the invaders. Semiramis, alarmed at their preparations, and perceiving that all her attempts were fruitless to recal Arah to life, the body having already become putrid, directed the corpse to be flung into a dungeon, and one of her favourites to personate the unfortunate Arah, who, as she gave out to his subjects, had been restored to life by the peculiar favour of the gods. This artifice succeeded in pacifying the Armenians, and Semiramis raised the young Cardus, then 12 years of age, to the throne of his father, directing him to assume the name of Arah. The Assyrian queen was so pleased with the salubrity of the air, and the fertility and picturesque nature of the country, that she left a splendid mark of her munificence in it, on her returning to Assyria, having built a magnificent city on the shores of the sea of Akhthamar. Twelve thousand workmen and

six hundred architects were employed in the erection of the buildings in this city. It became thenceforward the summer residence of Semiramis, and was afterwards known by
2260; 3459. the name of Van. Cardus, surnamed Arah succeeded to the throne of Armenia at the death of his father, under the auspices of Semiramis. This prince, on attaining maturity, married, and had one son named Anushavan, who, (through a superstitious idea that those trees were the favourite terrestrial residences of the gods) was solemnly dedicated to the poplars planted around Armavir by king Armenac. People at that period imagined that those who were thus offered to the gods would become the special objects of their care.

On this account Anushavan was surnamed the Poplar. Some few years after this event, Ninyas, the son of Semiramis, rebelled against his mother, and having formed a party vastly superior to what was attached to the queen, she was obliged to fly, and take refuge in Armenia. Here she was received by Cardus with all the friendship he could demonstrate, and raising an army he marched with her at the head of it to reduce her rebellious son. A battle ensued, in which Semiramis and her gallant ally Cardus were defeated and slain; the former in her 62nd year, the latter in his

30th; eighteen of which he had ruled over Armenia.

Anushavan, on the defeat and death of his father, fell into the hands of the victor Ninyas, who retained him captive in his palace. At the time of this unfortunate event, Anushavan was but 14 years of age. When he attained maturity, some of the Assyrian nobles, with whom he had ingratiated himself by his amiable disposition and manners, interceded on his behalf with Ninyas, and procured his release and restoration to a part of his hereditary dominions, on condition that he should pay homage for them to the Assyrians. Anushavan, on agreeing to this condition, assumed the royal dignity in that portion of Armenia which had been restored to him. He proved a prince of eminently great qualities, and by the alternate use of arms and policy, eventually recovered the whole kingdom. He enjoyed a long reign; and died 63 years after the fall of Cardus. 2275; 3574.

CHAPTER IV.

The period between the Reigns of Paret and Scavordee.

ANUSHAVAN died without issue, and the crown of Armenia fell to the nearest collateral branch of his family, the supreme power being still possessed by the descendants of Haicus.

2338; 3537. The successor to Anushavan, on the throne, was Paret, a prince of great valour and talent. He was several times engaged in war with the neighbouring powers, but always proved successful. He died after a reign of 50 years, during which the Jewish Patriarch Joseph died in Egypt at the age of 120 years.

2388; 3587 Arbak succeeded Paret on the throne of Armenia, and reigned 44 years, when he died. Zavan, a prince of great courage and virtue, then seized upon the supreme authority, which he exercised with mildness and justice for a period of 37 years, when he was suddenly taken off by death. In his days the Athenian and Lacedæmonian states were founded.

2469; 3668. Pharnak the first succeeded Zavan, and reigned

53 years. He was conquered, but restored to his kingdom, by Sesostris, king of Egypt. After the departure of the latter from Armenia, Pharnak built a number of fortresses in his dominions to protect himself against future invasions. At this period the Children of Israel quitted Egypt. On the death of Pharnak, Soor became the king of Armenia. He proved a great and successful warrior, and was the idol of his subjects. During his reign the Children of Israel took possession of Canaan or the land of promise. Many of the aborigines of that country took refuge in Armenia, under the conduct of a leader, named Canaanidas, a man, as the records state, of immense riches. From him the Canaanidians, otherwise the Gunthunians, who are well known in the annals of our history, are descended. Soor died after a splendid reign of 45 years. 2513; 3712. 2522; 3721.

Havanak, otherwise Hunak, then took possession of the sovereign power, and exercised it 30 years, when he died. Vashtak, his successor, reigned 22 years. Haykak the first, was the next sovereign. He proved a warlike and skilful prince, and raised the national glory to a greater height than it had ever before attained. He attacked and subdued Amindes the king of Assyria, and obliged him to do him homage for his dominions. He was not, how- 2567; 3766.

ever, equally successful in his endeavours to compel Belok, the successor of Amindes, to the same subjection; for that monarch resolutely opposed him, and in an action that took place between the Assyrians and the Armenians, Haykak was defeated and slain, after a splendid reign of 18 years.

2637; 3836. After his death, Ambak the first took possession of the kingdom and governed it 14 years.

Arnak was the next sovereign, who died after reigning 17 years.

He was succeeded by Shavarsh the first, who built the city of Shavarshan, but reigned only 6 years. Norayr, his successor, held the government 24 years.

Vistam, the next king, swayed the sceptre of Armenia for a period of 13 years.

Car then held the supreme power for 4 years, when he was succeeded by Gorak, who pos-

2733; 3932. sessed it 18 years. Hirant the first, after the death of Gorak, governed the kingdom for 25 years. In the reign of this monarch, Buz the son of Neptune, founded the city of Byzantium, now Constantinople.

Unzak succeeded Hirant, and governed Armenia for 13 years. Gilak was the next sovereign; he reigned 30 years, and at his death the kingdom fell into the hands of Horo, who possessed it only three years.

The successor of Horo was Zarmayr, who proved a warlike and successful prince. He engaged in several wars with the neighbouring powers, and greatly raised the glory of the Armenian name. During his reign happened the famous siege of Troy, and as he was an ally of the besieged people, he went to their assistance with a large body of troops. After distinguishing himself considerably against the Grecian besiegers, he fell in an encounter with Achilles. 2806; 4005.

This event happened in the year 2818, (or 4017 according to the Septuagint,) and in the twelfth year of his government of Armenia. On the news of his death reaching his subjects, much discord arose amongst the chiefs as to the choice of his successor; and the interregnum lasted for about two years. At the expiration of this period Shavarsh the second, a lineal descendant of Shavarsh the first, by the force of his valour and policy, made himself king, and reigned prosperously during 43 years. 2820; 4019.

At his death the sovereignty of Armenia was seized upon by Perch the first, from the tribe of Seunics, a man of great skill and courage, who, by his exploits became the terror of all the adjacent nations. In these days lived Eli, the high priest of the Jews. After a glorious reign of 35 years, Perch died, and was suc-

2898; 4097. ceeded in his power and dignity by Arbun, surnamed the Brave, in consequence of the many gallant actions he performed. His government lasted 27 years, during which, Saul was anointed king of Israel. Perch the second, the successor of Arbun, was contemporary with the Jewish King David. His reign continued for a period of 40 years. The kingdom of Armenia was next governed by Bazuk, surnamed the Long-lived, by reason of the unusually long duration of his reign, which extended to a period of 50 years, during which the temple of Solomon 3015; 4214. at Jerusalem was founded. Hoi, succeeded Bazuk in the government of the nation, and held it 44 years. He was surnamed the Terrific, from the peculiarly fierce expression of his countenance.

On the death of Hoi, Husak became king, and swayed the sceptre 31 years. Ambak the second, his successor, held the sovereign power 27 years.

Kaypak, the next king, reigned 45 years, and by the splendour of his military achievements threw the whole of the actions of his predecessors completely into the shade. Pharnavaz the first succeeded Kaypak, and governed the kingdom 33 years. Pharnak the second then assumed the authority, and exercised it for a period of 40 years. He was an inactive, inglo-

rious prince, wasting his time in the most frivolous occupations, by which the country suffered a variety of evils, the territory being repeatedly invaded, and many provinces entirely conquered by the Assyrians.

The succeeding monarch, Scavordee, however, by his wisdom and valour, repaired all the injuries the kingdom had suffered under the weak and impotent sway of Pharnak. He succeeded in wresting from the Assyrians the conquests they had made in Armenia, and by the prudence of his administration rendered his people as happy as they had ever been under any of his predecessors. He died universally regretted, after a brilliant reign of 17 years, during which period Romulus laid the foundation of the city of Rome. 3235; 4434.

CHAPTER V.

The period between the Reign of Paroyr, who was the first King of Armenia that was publicly crowned, and that of Erwand the first.

Up to this time, those monarchs who ruled over Armenia, although they possessed all the power of absolute princes, had never undergone the ceremony of a public coronation. Indeed

the ensigns of royal dignity, the crown and sceptre, were scarcely known by them to have an existence, and it was not until an intercourse took place between the Armenians and Assyrians, that the former became sensible of the importance with which the decorations of a sovereign prince were invested. It appears also, from the events that took place in the reign we are about to notice, that those kings only who wore the badges of royalty, could permit other princes to assume them.

3252; 4451. On the death of Scavordee, the government of Armenia was taken possession of by his son Paroyr; which event happened two years after the foundation of Rome. At this period Sardanapalus, a man of vicious habits and the most unruly passions, swayed the sceptre of Assyria. Five years after the assumption of the supreme controul of Armenia by Paroyr, the conduct of Sardanapalus became so disgusting to the Assyrians, that a rebellion broke out against him, headed by Arbaces, prince of the Medes, a man of talent and virtue.

This latter, previous to his commencing hostilities against Sardanapalus, sent to Paroyr and Belesis, surnamed Nabonazar, the prince of Babylon, offering, if they would join him in his projected attempt to dethrone the king of Assyria, to confer upon them the en-

signs of royalty, on his being seated on the throne of Nineveh, which was his object in heading the Assyrian insurgents. Paroyr and Belesis having accepted the offer of Arbaces, and joined him with their respective forces, the whole three advanced to Nineveh, and expelled Sardanapalus. Arbaces was then raised to the throne, and, pursuant to the promises he had made his two allies, solemnly crowned them kings of their respective countries. Belesis then proceeded to Babylon with his family, where he reigned for a long period with absolute power. Paroyr returned to Armenia, and forthwith assumed the crown and sceptre, which had been so lately conferred upon him. Arbaces did not retain possession of Nineveh, but returned to Media some time after he and his allies had separated. Assyria, by the succession of various events, was, after the expulsion of Sardanapalus, at first governed by Tiglath-pileser; then by his son Shalmanazar, who conquered Samaria. Sennacherib, the son and successor of the latter, in an expedition against the Jews, then governed by king Hezekiah, lost the whole of his army by the sword of the avenging angel. On his return to Nineveh, he was plunged into the bitterest grief by the reflection of the late defeat and destruction of his soldiers, and superstitiously conceiving that

3257; 4456.

the anger of the gods he worshipped was kindled against him, he meditated endeavouring to appease them by the sacrifice of his sons Adramelech and Sharezer on the altar of the idol Nisroch. The two intended victims, however, got timely information of the cruel designs of their unnatural father, and seizing their opportunity, killed Sennacherib in the temple
3295; 4494. of Nisroch. They then took refuge in Armenia, where they were kindly received by king Paroyr, who allotted them portions of land for their maintenance. To Sharezer he gave a territory in the south-western part of Armenia, bordering on Assyria. The Sanasoons or Sasoons, a numerous and valiant race, who principally inhabited Mount Sion, claim Sharezer for their ancestor. The king gave Adramelech a country to the south-east of that of his brother Sharezer. From Adramelech are descended the great tribes of the Arzrunians and Gnunians. The posterity of these two Assyrian princes, in the course of a few ages, became so numerous, that they established an independent kingdom in the country in which their ancestors had first settled, calling it Vaspurakan, and themselves Vaspurakanians.

Paroyr, after a glorious reign of 48 years, died in peace at Armavir, in the 50th year of
3300; 4499. the building of Rome. He was succeeded in

his crown by his son Hirachay the Keen, so called from the brightness of his eyes, and who was also contemporary with Hezekiah king of Judah. He died after a reign of 22 years.

Pharnavaz the second, the son of Hirachay, governed Armenia 13 years, and was contemporary with Manasseh the king of Judah and son of Hezekiah.

Pachoych, son of the late monarch of Armenia, ruled 35 years.

Cornak, the son of Pachoych, succeeded his father at his death, and wore the crown of Armenia eight years, when he died, and was succeeded by his son Phavos, who reigned 17 years.

Haykak the second, the son of Phavos, at the death of the latter, ascended the throne of Armenia. He joined Nebuchadnezzar the great king of Babylon in his expedition against the Jews, and on the latter being led into captivity, Haykak took one of their chiefs, named Shambat, together with all his family, and brought him into Armenia: from Shambat are descended the great family of the Bagratians, which afterwards possessed the throne of Armenia, and which derived their name from the illustrious Bagarat, who, it will hereafter be seen, shed such a lustre on the reign of Valarsaces. Many of the most distinguished 3395; 4594.

of this race were called Sumbat, after their original ancestor, and a few took the name of Ashot, in memory of Asood the son of this Jewish chief. Haykak died after a pros-
3431; 4630. perous reign of 36 years. He was succeeded by his son Erwand the first, surnamed the Short-lived, who reigned only four years. The sister of this monarch was married to an Armenian chief named Vardkes, who founded a large city near the river Casakh, calling it by his own name. It was some ages after rebuilt by Valarsaces, a king of Armenia of the Arsacidæan line, who gave it the name of Valarshapat.

CHAPTER VI.

The Reign of Tigranes Haicus.

3435; 4634. On the death of Erwand, the crown was taken possession of by his son Tigranes, who adorned his dignity by virtues of the highest order. Endowed by nature with the most estimable qualities of the mind, Tigranes, by a happy union of gentleness and humility in his manners, gained the affections of all who were in habits of intercourse with him; and that superiority

which the powers of his understanding gave him over his fellow-men, which, in too many instances, is the means of estranging the good will of others from its possessor, by his unassuming disposition was never employed but for the best purposes. His person was not at all inferior to his mind, for the perfection of manly beauty shone in it. He was also distinguished for the most chivalric bravery, and during his reign the manners and customs of the Armenians experienced a complete revolution. Refinement in dress and living was carried to the highest pitch of perfection, and the army was completely re-modelled, upon principles which afterwards proved the source of so much glory to the nation. He engaged in several wars with the adjacent powers, in all of which he was attended by incredible success. He defeated the Greeks, and compelled them for a long period to pay him tribute. Cyrus at this period was at the head of the Persian nation, and had immortalized himself by the most splendid achievements in war. An alliance offensive and defensive was formed between this monarch and Tigranes, which nearly proved the means of depriving the latter of his crown and life.* 3445; 4644.

Ahasuerus, king of Media, who was at this time at war with Cyrus, no sooner heard of the alliance that had been formed between

*See Hist. B. 1, c. 2.

the latter and Tigranes, than he was seized with terror, and abandoned all hopes of future success in the war which he was then prosecuting. One evil, it is said, is only the harbinger of another; for shortly after, Ahasuerus received information that Nebuchadnezzar the great king of Babylon, had joined the alliance between Cyrus and Tigranes.

While the king of Media was under the influence of the fears which the coalition of three such powerful states had induced, he had a dream full of dreadful portents. In it, he beheld a mountain in labour, which, in the end, produced three warriors. One of these appeared seated on the back of a furious lion, which he guided toward the west. The second rode on a leopard, and took a northerly direction. The third, more dreadful than the other two in his aspect, was sustained by a dragon, which forthwith appeared to enter and desolate the whole face of the country of Media. The king thought that he endeavoured to stop the progress of the hero with the dragon, but was wounded and killed by him.

On his awaking from this horrible dream, he commanded his wise men to interpret to him the meaning of the objects his fancy had conjured up during his sleep. He was informed that the first was Cyrus; the second Nebuchad-

nezzar; but the one who had brought him to destruction was the formidable Tigranes, by whom they augured the Medes would be conquered. Ahasuerus, alarmed at this prophecy, determined to make preparations for meeting the first two in the field; but he resolved to endeavour to take Tigranes off by assassination. For the latter purpose he sent ambassadors into Armenia, bearing magnificent presents to the king, and begging his sister Tigrana in marriage, whom, he said, he would exalt to the dignity of Queen of queens. Tigranes, not suspecting 3446; 4645.
the faith of Ahasuerus, readily complied with his desire, and sent Tigrana into Media attended by a numerous suite, and such as befitted a princess of the royal house of Haicus. The marriage was celebrated immediately on her arrival, and Ahasuerus, in prosecution of his designs, paid her a respect almost bordering on adoration, in order to prepare her to second him in his attempt on the life of her brother. At 3447; 4646.
length he disclosed to her his designs, endeavouring at the same time to stir up her jealousy against Zarina the wife of her brother, who, he told her, had instigated Tigranes to join Cyrus to extirpate the royal family of Media. "Thus," said he, "unless you assist me in procuring the death of Tigranes, we shall infallibly fall victims to the powerful co-

alition against us. I, doubtless, shall perish in defending my crown, but a harder fate will befal you, surviving, as you most assuredly will, all your honour and dignities!"

Tigrana, however, was too affectionate a sister to engage in the black designs of her guilty husband. She appeared to listen to his proposals with pleasure, but secretly sent to Armenia, by the means of trusty servants, a faithful account of all that had occurred from the period of her leaving it. Tigranes no sooner learned the fate to which his brother-in-law had devoted him, than he became furious, and despatching a messenger to Cyrus, requested him immediately to push the war vigourously against Ahasuerus. In the mean time he levied a large army, and placing himself at its head, advanced to the frontiers of Media. Here he waited the arrival of Cyrus, and forbore commencing hostilities, through affection for his sister Tigrana, for whose safety he feared, should Ahasuerus suspect her having disclosed to him the projects of her husband. About five months after, Tigrana managed to effect her escape to her brother; and Cyrus having arrived with a Persian army, the two princes forthwith entered Media.

Ahasuerus made a faint attempt to protect his dominions, but he was defeated, and fell by

the hand of Tigranes, who killed him by a thrust of his spear. A vast number of Medes fell in the action, and 10,000 were made prisoners, among whom were the whole of the women belonging to the king. The country then submitted to the victors, and Cyrus added it, by the consent of Tigranes, to his own dominions. The latter returned to Armenia loaded with booty, and attended by a vast number of captives. In gratitude to his sister, he gave her the city of Tigranakert, which he had lately built, with a large extent of country in its environs. The women of Ahasuerus, with the remainder of the captives, he settled near Nackjuan and along the banks of the river Arax. 3448; 4647.

The descendants of these women, proceeding from the king of Media, were thenceforward called the offspring of Ajdahak or the Dragon, in allusion to the name of Ahasuerus, which, in the Armenian language, signifies a dragon. At this period, Cyrus, accompanied by Tigranes, effected the conquest of Lydia, which was then in the possession of Crœsus, but was now added to the large empire of the former. Shortly after, the two monarchs besieged and took the city of Babylon, which was given to Darius, the uncle of Cyrus, who thenceforward governed it under the title of king. All the christian nations are in possession of authentic accounts of Tigranes 3450; 4649.

being associated with Cyrus in his conquest of Babylon; for the prophet Jeremiah exclaims, "Set ye up a standard in the land; blow the trumpet among the nations; prepare the nations against her (Babylon); call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz; appoint a captain against her; cause the horses to come up, as the rough caterpillars." See Chap. 51, verse 27, &c. It is evident, by the chronology of the Jews and Armenians, that, at the capture of Babylon, Tigranes was king of Ararat. After a glorious reign of 45 years, in which his glory had eclipsed that of all his predecessors, Tigranes died, to the great regret of all the nation, leaving three sons born of his queen Zarina, viz. Bab, Tiran, and Vahagn. The great conqueror Cyrus died five years before his ally Tigranes.

CHAPTER VII.

The period between the Reign of Vahagn and the Conquest of Armenia by Alexander the Great.

VAHAGN, although the youngest son of the late Monarch, took possession of the throne at the decease of his father; his two elder brothers being of a less warlike disposition, quietly relinquishing their claims. This prince proved a virtuous and magnanimous character. His personal strength and courage were so great, that he was usually called by his subjects Hercules the Second. He performed many gallant exploits, and became so renowned that songs in his praise were composed and sung by the Armenians and Georgians; wherein, amongst a variety of other valiant actions, he was said to have fought and conquered dragons. This alluded, no doubt, to his wars with the Medes, the descendants of Ahasuerus, who, as we have related, were called the Dragons. These songs were current in Armenia even in the days of the most flourishing state of Chris- 3480; 4679.

tianity in that country. Vahagn died after a brilliant reign of 27 years. A statue of this monarch was erected in Georgia by the inhabitants of that country, in commemoration of his many great qualities, and according to the pagan custom in those days, divine honours were paid him; sacrifices being offered to the statue. From this prince the tribe of Vahunians are descended, many of whom afterwards officiated as priests in temples which they had erected to their ancestor, who, as we before stated, had been deified.

3507; 4706. Aravan the youngest son of Vahagn succeeded his father on the throne of Armenia, and held it 18 years. He is the ancestor of the tribe of the Aravenians.

Nerseh, the son of Aravan, was the next king, and reigned 35 years. He was succeeded by his son Zareh, who swayed the sceptre 46 years. From him are descended the Zarehavenians. Armog, the son of Zareh, wore the crown of Armenia nine years. He was succeeded by his son Baygam, who died after a reign of 14 years. Van, the son of Baygam, became king on the decease of his father, and held that dignity 20 years. This monarch repaired the large city which had been built in Armenia by the Assyrian queen Semiramis, and changed its name

3649; 4848. to Van. Vahey, the son of Van, was the last

king of the posterity of Haicus, who held the sovereignty of Armenia. In the beginning of his reign he proved exceedingly fortunate in all the enterprizes in which he engaged, but success forsook him at length, and he lost his crown and his life at the same moment. Alexander the Macedonian, about this period, was engaged in war with the Persians, and as the Armenians were allies of the latter, Vahey sent to their assistance an army of 40,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry. Darius the Persian king, having been defeated and killed, Vahey, listening only to the suggestions of his friendship for that monarch, assembled a vast army, composed of Armenians, Huns, Alans, Georgians, Aluans, and other nations, with which he advanced against Alexander, determined to revenge the death of Darius or perish in the attempt. The latter fate befel him; for in an action that shortly after followed, Vahey was defeated and fell, after performing the most heroic exploits, having reigned about twenty-three years. A vast number of his army perished on the field; many were made prisoners; and the whole of Armenia fell into the hands of Alexander. From this period royalty was unknown in Armenia until the rise of the Arsacidæ. 3672; 4871.

PART II.

COMPRISING THE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN ARMENIA WHILST A PROVINCE OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE, AND DURING THE CONTROUL EXERCISED OVER IT BY THE SELEUCIDÆ.

AFTER the conquest of Armenia by Alexander the Great, it was ruled by Governors. They were seven in number, following in succession, several of whom possessed all the power and state of absolute monarchs. The first of course was appointed by the conqueror; the others were nominated by his successors. Some came from Macedonia, the remainder from Seleucia, as will hereafter appear.

CHAPTER I.

Embracing the period between the Governments of Mihran and Hirant.

3675 à 4874. MIHRAN was the first governor of Armenia. He was appointed by Alexander the Great three years after the death of Vahey, and after pre-

siding over the country five years, was recalled by Perdiccas, then king of Macedonia.

Neoptolemus, a celebrated Macedonian noble- 3681; 4880.
man, succeeded him. He was a cruel and haughty tyrant, and harassed the Armenians to such a degree that they were driven almost to despair. At this period, Perdiccas the Macedonian having defeated the king of Cappadocia, in a war that had broken out between them, prince Arithes, the son of the latter, took refuge in Armenia, and being at enmity with Neoptolemus, excited a rebellion amongst the Armenians, the object of which was to expel the tyrant.

They were easily prevailed upon to make the attempt, and Ardward or Erwand, the chief of the Seunics, a valiant and powerful man, having collected troops in his country, joined the insurgents, and attacking the tyrant unexpectedly, the latter was defeated, and with difficulty saved himself by flight. This occurred in the second year of his government.

Ardward having thus expelled Neoptolemus, 3683; 4882.
and gained the affection of the Armenian troops and nobles, threw off the Macedonian yoke, and took upon himself the government of the nation. Perdiccas was greatly exasperated on receiving the news of this revolt, and as he had no leisure to occupy himself with the affairs of Armenia, owing to the incessant wars in which

he was engaged, he sent an order to Eumenes, whom he had appointed governor of Cappadocia, to take immediate steps for the reduction of the insurgents.

Eumenes marched with a great force into Armenia; and after some operations found that nothing was to be effected by coercion; he therefore determined to try mild measures, and with that view sent a conciliatory message to Ardward.

"Let not Armenia," said he, "consider it disgraceful to be under the powerful controul of Macedonia; and do thou, who hast gotten possession of the country, receive again Neoptolemus as governor of it under thy countenance and support; consent, therefore, to pay the Macedonians the yearly tribute through him!" Ardward, the successful chief, accepted these terms, yet doubted the good faith of Eumenes. His reply to the latter was couched in this language. "May the sway of heroes be unmolested! There is no reason why Neoptolemus, the agent of the Macedonian power, should not be the ruler of our land. We also know well how to appreciate the merits of our fellow men; yet let him beware of acting as heretofore."

Neoptolemus hereupon returned to Armenia, and was honourably received by Ardward, who became his prime minister. But as we have already observed, the former was an arrogant

tyrannical character, he took every occasion to distress the Armenians, and by this means to revenge the injury he had formerly sustained from them when he was driven out of the country.

A quarrel however took place between him and Eumenes the illustrious governor of Cappadocia, who had advised him to treat the Armenians with mildness. Having by flattery engaged Ardward, the great chief, to espouse his cause, by his means he raised troops, and being joined by some discontented Macedonians residing in Cappadocia, boldly advanced towards Eumenes, but being defeated by the latter, he was obliged to seek safety by flight 3684; 4883.

A second battle took place shortly after, in which the chiefs of the two armies had a personal encounter. Such virulence and rancour were displayed by them in this conflict, that they resembled two wild beasts encountering with a determination not to desist until after the destruction of one. Dropping the reins of their horses, they grappled each other by the armour, and falling in this position to the ground, gave and received several dreadful wounds. Eumenes had stabbed Neoptolemus in the thigh; but the latter, undaunted, continued to fight on his knees, inflicting three severe wounds in the other's arm and thigh. Eumenes, however, succeeded in killing his antagonist,

whose head he severed from the body. The army of the slain leader fled to Armenia. His auxiliaries retired to their respective homes.

3690; 4889. Some years afterwards, when Eumenes and Perdiccas were dead, Ardward, the great chief of the Armenians, whom some of the ancients style king, assembled a considerable force, for the purpose of restoring Arithes, prince of Cappadocia, who had taken refuge in Armenia, to the throne of his ancestors. The latter, placed at the head of this army, marched into Cappadocia, overthrew his enemies, and firmly established himself in the possession of the kingdom. Not unmindful of his Armenian friends he distributed presents to the army, and sent it back to Ardward, to whom also he testified his gratitude by many valuable gifts.

3716; 4915. Ardward governed the kingdom of Armenia happily for a period of 33 years, and died to the infinite regret of the whole people. The power of the Seleucidæ preponderating at this period in the east, whose sway was acknowledged by the Persians, Medes, Parthians, and Armenians, a governor from amongst them was readily admitted as the successor of Ardward. This individual, whom history designates by the name of Hirant, exercised the supreme controul of Armenia for a period of 45 years unmarked by any incident worthy of record.

CHAPTER II.

Comprehending the time that elapsed between the Government of Artavaz and Artavazd.

After the death of Hirant, the government of the country was seized by Artavaz, an Armenian chief of great power and influence. He exercised his power in the most arbitrary manner. Being naturally of an unquiet ambitious spirit, he, by various successful wars, extended his dominion to the confines of Atropatia and other surrounding countries. Elated by his successes, he boldly declared himself independent of the Seleucidæ, to whom he thenceforward refused to pay the usual tribute. 3761; 4960.

Antiochus, at this epoch, swayed the sceptre of Seleucia. Upon his being made acquainted with the defalcation of Artavaz, he determined to bring him to reason. He assembled his forces hereupon and marched with great heat toward the latter. The refractory Artavaz, however, not daring to meet Antiochus in the field, was obliged to compromise, and Armenia

became again subject to the power of the Seleucidæ. Antiochus withdrew his army, after being paid the arrears of tribute, and receiving gifts from the hands of Artavaz. The latter governed Armenia in peace for a period of 50 years, when he died.

3811; 5010. Antiochus of Seleucia, after the death of Artavaz, divided Armenia into two governments, of which one is called Armenia Major and the other Armenia Minor. Over the former he placed Artaces, whose principal seat of government was the country of Ararat, near the river Arax, and over the latter, Darius, whose chief province was the country of Zophs near the river Euphrates.

About this time war raged between Rome and Carthage. The latter being worsted, her great general, Hannibal, was obliged to flee from the enmity of the Romans. He took refuge with Antiochus, who shortly after went to war with the Romans but was defeated by them. Being obliged by the superiority of these people to conclude a peace with them, they demanded the person of their old and inveterate enemy Hannibal to be given up to them. But as Antiochus had a personal regard for this great man, he was unwilling to comply with their demand, and evaded it by secretly assisting him to flee to Armenia.

Hannibal found an asylum with Artaces, the governor of Armenia Major, and became his favourite and confidant. He assisted him in rendering his government more secure and permanent, and was deemed a great acquisition by him. Hannibal, during his sojourn with Artaces, drew the plan of a city, afterwards built by the latter near the river Arax, which is connected with the river Mezamore, emphatically called the great mother, and he called it after his own name Artashat. To this place, which afterwards became one of the greatest cities in Armenia, Artaces transferred the seat of his government.

The two governors, Artaces and Darius, having observed that the Roman power predominated, withdrew their allegiance from the Seleucidæ, and making a treaty with the Romans, were by them established in their governments. They were from this period designated kings. Hannibal, apprehending danger from this connection with his enemies, withdrew into Crete. Artaces, beloved by his subjects, daily grew in power and consequence, and made many improvements in his kingdom of Armenia. Both he and Darius governed their respective countries with a mildness that was productive of as much honour to themselves as happiness to their people. After a few years Antiochus Epiphanes 3820; 5019. 3829; 5028.

then ruling Seleucia, hearing of the union of Artaces with the Romans, and that he governed with regal dignity, sent him a threatening message, to yield immediate subjection to him, and claiming payment of the arrears of tribute.

The latter treated the message with contempt. Antiochus hereupon determined to enforce obedience by arms. He marched with a considerable army toward Artaces, who no way intimidated, met him with the whole force of Armenia Major, assisted by other nations, with whom he was in alliance. Artaces was defeated and fled. Having no other means of opposing the conqueror, he reluctantly submitted, collecting all the treasure of Armenia Major for
3835; 5034. the payment of the other's demands. Artaces, in the meantime, suspecting that Darius had instigated Antiochus to this attack upon him, determined on taking vengeance. Darius, coming to the knowledge of this, and conscious of his inability to contend with the other, sought to appease him by gifts. A reconciliation by this means was effected; and Darius, to shew his good faith, placed his youngest son with Artaces as a hostage.

3839; 5038. On the death of Darius, his son Morpheulices succeeded him in the government of the country of Zophs. Artaces, hearing of this event, prepared to march into Armenia Minor to

take possession of it. Morpheulices terrified at the news, immediately applied for aid to Areth king of Cappadocia. Artaces informed of this, sent messengers to Areth, saying "Why need you interest yourself with the sons of Darius? Come and join me. We will kill them and take possession of Armenia. The one that is with me, I will despatch; he who is now with thee, may be taken off with ease, and thus success crowns our enterprize!" But Areth was averse to this cruel project and wrote to Artaces bidding him quit his unjust and barbarous designs. Areth furnished Morpheulices with an army to oppose Artaces. Morpheulices was a man of gigantic stature and undaunted courage, fierce and terrible in his appearance, and skilful in all the practices of war. Artaces, in the midst of his preparations for the invasion of Armenia Minor was suddenly taken off by death, having attained a very advanced age, and governed Armenia Major for a period of 30 years. His son Artavazd succeeded him. 3841; 5040. He reigned 10 years and was the last governor of Armenia Major, being succeeded by the Arsacidæ.

PART III.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ARSACIDÆ WHICH LASTED 580 YEARS.

The origin of the Arsacidæ.

3754; 4953. DURING the height of the power of the Seleucidæ, while they controlled all the oriental nations, there sprang up amongst the Parthians a prince named Arsaces, descended from Abraham by Keturah, who throwing off the Seleucian yoke, by many successful events, established himself in the city of Bahl, in the land of Cassoei. His great qualities rendered him illustrious, and he succeeded in establishing his sway over the Parthians, Persians, Medes and Babylonians. In honour of his nation, all the people over whom he reigned took the appellation of Parthians. His power in process of time extended to Armenia, which ultimately swelled the list of his conquests.

This Arsaces, after a brilliant reign of 31 years, died, and was succeeded in his power by Artaces his son, who also died after enjoying his dignity 26 years. Arsaces the Second, a son of the latter succeeded. 3785; 4984.

This prince was styled the Great. His glory far transcended that of his grandfather. He extended his conquests in India, to the shores of the Indus. He subsequently conquered the whole of Armenia. He expelled Artavazd, the last governor of this country, and appointed his brother Valarsaces king of both Armenia Major and Minor, to which he annexed the country of Atropatia. This revolution in the affairs of Armenia happened in the 40th year of the reign of Arsaces the Second, or the Great, which is about 149 years before the Christian era. Arsaces exhorted his brother to extend his dominion by arms towards the north-west. "As far as your mind conceives an enterprize practicable, let your valour make the attempt. For the brave acknowledge no limits. Arms are their engines of power: the more these are exercised, the more they possess."

CHAPTER I.

The reign of Valarsaces I.

3852; 5051. VALARSACES, the brother of Arsaces the Great, who was the grandson of Arsaces the Parthian, assumed the government of Armenia, and established himself in Nisibis.

He immediately began preparations to carry into effect the determination of extending his fame and dominions which the advice of Arsaces had excited in his bosom. He assembled an immense army and marched to the borders of his kingdom, encamping on the banks of the river Arax, near the city of Armavir. After remaining here a few days, in order to marshal his troops, he directed his course toward the north-west, advancing to the borders of Armenia Minor, at that time in quiet possession of Morpheulices the son of Darius, of whom we have before given some account.

Great apprehension of danger having been excited by the warlike preparations of Valarsaces, a league had been formed by the

Chaldeans, Lazicians, the people of Pontus, Cappadocians, Phrygians, and others, the constant allies of the Seleucians, to repel the invader at whatever point he should commence attack. The brave Morpheulices was appointed the leader of the combined forces. The hostile armies at length met. The onset was made by the troops of Valarsaces. Morpheulices, clad in armour, in the meantime selected a number of brave men, daringly rushed into the enemy's camp, and penetrated as far as the tent of the king, killing numbers of the enemy who had presented themselves to stop his progress. Here the valiant Morpheulices, finding himself before Valarsaces his foe, with prodigious strength hurled his spear at him, but the surrounding warriors of the race of Haicus, and that of Sennacherib, interposed and stopped the progress of the weapon, thereby preserving the life of their master. The unfortunate, but gallant Morpheulices, surrounded by foes, baffled in his object, and attacked on every side, was at length unhorsed, and became an easy victim to the numbers of his opposers. He was slain on the spot. His army, disheartened by the loss of its leader, was speedily put to flight. The fugitives were pursued with such slaughter that their blood covered the plain like an inundation. Valarsaces afterward subdued Cap- 3854; 5053.

padocia, Pontus, Lazicia, Chaldæa and Egeria. They became his tributaries. Returning from these conquests he visited the country of the Taics, built a summer residence at the foot of Mount Paharian, and afterwards returned to his
3857; 5056. city Nisibis. Valarsaces at this period, being in profound peace, expressed a desire to know the origin of the Armenians, who had boasted of greater antiquity than his nation; also what events had taken place in their country, and the different races of their princes. He searched diligently for some time, but found nothing recorded on these subjects, except in some few old songs, where there were some things related of this nature, but so obscured by allegory, that nothing satisfactory could be gathered from them. He at length resolved to consult the old Chaldean manuscripts, and for this purpose obtained the assistance of a very learned man, a Syrian, named Maribas Catina, which signifies Ibas the witty, who was quite conversant in the language of both Chaldeans and Greeks. This man was sent by Valarsaces with a letter to his brother Arsaces at Nineveh, requesting the latter to permit the bearer to examine the ancient manuscripts lying there, for the purpose of extracting from them whatever might be found relating to the Armenians. Arsaces, on receipt of the letter complied with the request, and even

expressed pleasure at the object of his brother's search. The whole of the archives at Nineveh were then exposed to the inspection of Maribas. Having examined these papers, he found a manuscript in the Greek character with this label, "This book, containing the annals of ancient history, was translated from Chaldean into Greek by order of Alexander the Great." From this manuscript Maribas extracted, in due order, the history of Armenia, from the time of Haicus to that of Paroyr, and thence to the time of Vahey, and then returned to Valarsaces in Nisibis. This discovery afforded a deal of joy to the king, who preserved the extracts with great care in his treasury. Other books having been discovered by Maribas, containing the narrative of events to his own times, he added to the extracts from the manuscripts of Nineveh, others, which rendered the history complete. He wrote also an account of the exploits of Valarsaces and his son Arsaces. He wrote the lives of Arsaces the Parthian, and his grandson Arsaces the Great, from which it appears that we have greater claims to antiquity, and that our records are more authentic, than those of all other nations, the Hebrews or Jews excepted. Valarsaces then commenced improving the state of his kingdom and people. He divided the former into provinces, over which he appointed

3858 & 5057.

princes, and the latter into the several classes, military and civil, to which their talents were best adapted. He also formed his army into legions after the manner of the Romans.

What is still more worthy of record, is the singular and virtuous appointment of two officers whose duties were of a peculiar nature. The first of these had it in command to remind the king of his duty, when he was tempted to unjust or cruel measures. The other was directed to impress on the king's mind the necessity of punishing crime, and the salutary effects of example, when he was inclined to be unjustly or weakly merciful. Bagarat, his counsellor, was appointed by him to the hereditary office of placing the crown on the king's head at the coronation. This Bagarat, as was mentioned above, was a Jew, an excellent character, and of the greatest service to Valarsaces from his intimate acquaintance with the laws of God. The descendants of this individual were named after him Bagratians, many of whom, from their attachment to their faith, suffered martyrdom under our kings.

3862; 5061. Valarsaces had several sons, and to prevent discord amongst them, and disputes about the succession to the throne, he established a law, that only the eldest son should remain with the reigning king at Nisibis, the others should be

kept at a distance in the province of Hashtens, where each had estates allotted him and an allowance from the royal treasury. This law was observed by all the Arsacidæ. At length, after a prosperous reign of 22 years, Valarsaces died at Nisibis. The posterity of Valarsaces, who swayed the sceptre of Armenia, were called Arsacidæ, from their ancestor Arsaces the Parthian; like the Persians, whom foreign historians style Parthians, from their being subject to Arsaces the Parthian. 3873; 5072.

CHAPTER II.

The period between Arsaces the First and Artaces.

Arsaces, the eldest son of Valarsaces, having succeeded to the throne of his father, rivalled him in his good qualities. He made many improvements, and added various excellent orders and regulations to those established by the late king. Shortly after he was crowned, the people of Pontus rebelled. But acting with promptitude, he marched against the insurgents and entirely defeated them. He erected a statue of stone on the shore of the 3873; 5072.

Black Sea to commemorate his victory. This prince had a spear with a round sharp head, which had a peculiar property from the circumstance of its having been dipped in the blood of certain venomous reptiles. As he was walking on the shore of the Black Sea, he threw this spear at the statue before-mentioned, when, strange to relate, it entered the pedestal with as much ease as if it had been clay. The pedestal was an immense mass of rock shaped like a mill-stone. The statue of which we speak was worshipped for a considerable time by the people of Pontus, who regarded it as the work of the gods. On a fresh rupture breaking out between them and Artaces, the son of Arsaces, they threw it into the sea.

3877; 5076. Arsaces was extremely bigoted in religion and in his reign commenced an unjust persecution of the Jews. Observing that the Bagratians, of whose origin the reader is already aware, did not worship the idols of the country, he put two of them to death, and issued a proclamation by which they were forbidden all intercourse with women, unless they bound themselves by oath not to circumcise their children and to neglect the observance of their sabbath. The poor Bagratians having no hopes of milder usage if they contested the point, complied with this most unjust decree, but did

not consent to the worship of idols. The same kind of persecution was exercised on them during the reign of Tigranes, the grand-son of this monarch. About this time, in consequence of dissensions amongst the inhabitants of the parts about Mount Caucasus, a prince called Vund, followed by a considerable body of people, emigrated from thence into Armenia, and settled in a place which was afterwards called Vanand, from his name. 3880; 5079.

Arsaces, after a reign of 13 years, died, and was succeeded by his eldest son Artaces. During the infancy of this prince many were the delightful hopes he excited in the bosoms of his grandfather Valarsaces and his father Arsaces, by his sprightly manners and bold robust figure. Nor were these hopes doomed to be blighted by his maturity. The brightest visions of paternal love and pride in the childhood of the prince, were realized in the manhood of the king. He was great, glorious and good. His actions greatly eclipsed those of his predecessors, and he consequently became infinitely more powerful. At this period of Armenian history, when Artaces ascended the throne left vacant by the death of Arsaces, the king of Persia was reckoned, amongst his eastern contemporaries, to have the precedence of the king of Armenia: but in the splendour of his 3886; 5085.

exploits, the latter, in the person of Artaces, raised himself greatly above the former. Nay, all Persia was under his controul, and he built palaces there, and struck money bearing his name and image, which was the current coin of the country. His son Tigranes always remained with his father, where his mind was early stored with maxims of prudence and virtue, the practice of which was his continual employment. He was also trained to the usual military exercises of a young prince. His daughter Artashama was given in marriage to Mithridates, the great and valiant chief of the Georgians, and descendant of Mithridates, the first minister of Darius. To his son-in-law Artaces entrusted the government of the nations about the northern mountains and the Pontic Sea.

3902; 5101. Inflated with the contemplation of his greatness, Artaces became vain-glorious, and sought for gratification in the splendour of foreign conquests rather than in the task of ameliorating the condition of his subjects.

For this purpose he assembled an army so numerous that he himself did not know their number; for, it is said, it would have been easier to reckon them by measurement than by numbering. It is also said, that if this immense army were to shoot their arrows at midday, the rays of the sun would be obscured by the greatness of

their numbers. And, to give an idea of the infinity of people that followed this prince, we are told, that on passing a country covered with pebbles, every man received orders to cast one into a heap; after all had passed, this heap was as big as a mountain!

Artaces, with this multitude, set out on his expedition. He directed his course to the westward, and subdued the whole of Asia Minor. He then fitted out a fleet, passed the Hellespont, and conquered Thrace and Greece, destroyed the chief cities in these countries, entered the Morea, and defeated the Lacedæmonians. His fame spread abroad to such an extent that even the people on the borders of the Mediterranean trembled at the sound of his name. Thus, having gratified his thirst for conquest he returned to Armenia. He then appointed his son Tigranes to the temporary government of his kingdom, and again set out on another expedition into Persia. No resistance was made against these incursions of Artaces; because the Romans, although at that time very powerful, were engaged in other wars, and had not the means of resisting him. 3903; 5102. 3908; 5107.

On another expedition planned by him shortly after, a sedition broke out amongst the soldiers, in which much blood was shed yet without success in quelling it; and Artaces, endeavouring to get away into Armenia from the danger that 3910; 5109.

threatened him with the army, was slain, having reigned 25 years. It is said, that on receiving his death-blow he exclaimed, "Alas! how transient and unsatisfactory is glory!" Artaces enriched and adorned his kingdom with several beautiful pieces of statuary. In particular, he found in Asia three well-executed brazen and gilt statues of Diana, Hercules, and Apollo, from the hands of Scyllis and Dipaenus, two celebrated Cretan artists, which he sent to Armavir in Armenia. In his expedition to Greece he discovered and sent to Armenia five statues of Jupiter, Diana, Minerva, Vulcan, and Venus. They were accompanied by their respective priests. The statue of Diana, which is also called Anaites, was afterwards placed by Tigranes at Eriza, and that of Minerva at the village of Thil.

CHAPTER III.

The reign of Tigranes the Second, and the actions of Mithridates against the Romans.

3911; 5110. AFTER the death of Artaces the reins of government were seized by his son Tigranes, who, as we have seen, had been left in temporary charge of the kingdom when his father set out

upon his last unfortunate expedition. He effected the restoration of order and tranquillity amongst his subjects, which had been so sadly broken during the last years of the reign of his father. He nominated his brother-in-law Mithridates to the important and honourable office of prime minister.

In the first year of this prince's reign the kingdom was invaded by the Greeks, who imagined from the state of confusion that followed the death of the king, and the youth of his successor, that Armenia would become an easy prey to a bold and enterprizing enemy. In this however they were deplorably mistaken. On the first news of the approach of the Greeks, Tigranes, accompanied by his relation Mithridates, placed himself at the head of a few troops, and attacked the invaders with such skill and determined bravery, that they received a total overthrow; and the survivors were very glad to relinquish their hopes of a splendid conquest for the certainty of personal safety. The kingdom was soon cleared of these adventurers. Immediately after this event Tigranes repaired to Majak or Cesarea, taking possession of Asia Minor, which he placed in charge of Mithridates, appointing him king of Pontus and the regions about the Mediterranean. To enable the latter to remain firm in the government which had

been conferred upon him, Tigranes left with him, on his departure, a considerable number of
3912; troops. After their separation, we are told that
5111. Tigranes became daily more powerful. Many countries were subdued by him, whose kings were kept captive at his court, to render more splendid the daily state in which he lived. This fact is authenticated by the Roman historians. We are informed, that many unfortunate kings, prisoners at his court, were obliged to stand in his presence with their arms folded on their breasts, in token of the absolute power he had over them. Four of these wretched monarchs were obliged to be constantly in attendance on him dressed in their regal robes. To such an extravagance was the state of this pompous prince carried, that when he exposed himself to his subjects publicly on horseback, his unfortunate royal captives were obliged to precede him on foot.

Mithridates, his brother-in-law, rendered himself no less glorious. He extended his dominions even to the borders of Scythia. His subjects and tributaries comprised 22 nations; and it is related that this prince conversed with equal fluency in the whole of the languages spoken by these people. He never needed the aid of an interpreter.

3914; 5113. Cappadocia, one of the newly acquired king-

doms of Mithridates, was placed under the dominion of his son Ariarath, a child of eight years of age, assisted by a man of experience and talent named Gordius.

The Cappadocians having appealed to the Romans against the usurpation of Mithridates, they sent to their assistance Cornelius Sylla the younger, of Cilicia, a renowned captain. This latter, having entered Cappadocia, encountered and overthrew Gordius, the guardian of the young Ariarath, and placed upon the throne Ariobarzan, of the family of the ancient kings of that country.

Mithridates was no sooner informed of the success of Sylla, and the expulsion of his son, than he dispatched a messenger to Tigranes for assistance. The latter sent two of his generals, Mihran and Bacoor, against Cappadocia, the newly-appointed king of which, Ariobarzan, with his ally Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, not daring to meet the invaders, fled to Rome. As soon as the Armenian leaders entered Cappadocia, they restored the young Ariarath to his throne. Elated by the success of this his first contest with the Romans, Mithridates collected a large army, and put to sea a fleet of 300 sail for the purpose of annoying them and their allies. The Romans, duly informed of these measures of Mithridates, 3915; 5114.

sent against him a force said to amount to 200,000 men. Against this immense army Mithridates contended with various success for some time, although his troops were infinitely inferior in point of numbers, yet they were enriched with the spoil of the Romans. One of the generals of the latter, named Aquilus Manius, commanding a body of 4,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry, was met and routed by the troops of Mithridates; 10,000 of the Romans were slain, 300 made prisoners and the rest dispersed. Aquilus with difficulty made his escape by night over the river Sangar, and took refuge in Pergamus; but some time after, having fallen into the hands of Mithridates, the latter caused molten gold to be poured down his throat, saying, "Since thy love of gold is so insatiable, take thy fill of it, and acknowledge my generosity in
3917; 5116. thus bestowing it!" Mithridates, after a war of two years with the Romans under Cornelius Sylla, was obliged to sue for peace, in the city of Dardanum in Phrygia, which was granted him upon condition that he would relinquish all claims to the kingdom of Cappadocia, which thenceforward was to be possessed by Ariobarzan, under the protection of the Romans.

3921; 5120. About this period the Seleucians, in discontent with their king, sent to Tigranes, offering him the dominion of their kingdom, on condition that

he would deliver them from the power of Antiochus, who was then upon the throne. Tigranes hereupon advanced against Antiochus and defeated him, to the great joy of the Seleucians, whom he thenceforward governed. He also subdued the whole of Assyria, with the exception of a few unimportant places. On his leaving Seleucia he appointed a viceroy over it, of the name of Mazdat, a native of Antioch. He afterwards made an incursion into Palestine, whence, on his return to Nisibis, he brought a number of Jews, to whom he gave the village of Vardkes, near the river Casakh, at which place they settled.

On the death of Cornelius Sylla, the celebrated Roman general, the treaty made by him with Mithridates was revoked by the Roman Senate, and war again declared between them and him. Mithridates having informed Tigranes of the rupture, the latter, by a forced march of his army, entered Cappadocia unexpectedly, and subdued the whole country, out of which he drew 30,000 of the population, and sent them to Armenia, where they had villages and towns allotted to them for settling in. He then returned to his own kingdom, after having dispatched to Mithridates a large body of Basenian troops reinforce his army. A considerable detachment of Armenians was previously in the army of this prince. 3926; 5125.

3929; 5128. The forces which Mithridates had assembled for the approaching war with the Romans amounted to 16,000 cavalry, 140,000 infantry disciplined after the manner of the Romans, and 100 armed chariots.

With these he conquered the whole of Upper Asia, being attended with success in every encounter. His naval armament was no less formidable than his forces on land, for the sea was covered with his ships. The Roman army opposed to him, was commanded by Lucullus, with Cotta as his lieutenant, both renowned warriors. They were however obliged to retreat before Mithridates, who attacked and drove them as far as the gate of Chalcedon, in which city they took shelter. Here a battle was shortly after fought, the result of which was extremely fatal to the Romans, numbers of whom were slain by the victorious troops of Mithridates. In the harbour of this town 60 Roman ships were also captured, the crews of which were indiscriminately slaughtered. Four of their gallies were also burnt. It is said that on this memorable occasion the dead bodies of the Romans actually covered the land and sea. Mithridates immediately after gave an account of this exploit to Tigranes and the king of Persia, who participated in his joy on the occasion.

He then set forward with his victorious army

to lay siege to the city of Cyzicus, near the sea of Marmora, belonging to the Romans. With his usual promptitude he commenced a vigorous attack upon it, but the works being strong he was unable to make any impression upon them. He therefore turned the siege into a blockade.

But, unfortunately, provisions began to be scarce, and famine and its consequent effect, disease, broke out in his army. At this juncture Lucullus arrived with a powerful army, and attacking the troops of Mithridates, easily obtained a victory, by reason of their enfeebled condition. Great slanghter was made by the Romans amongst the troops of Mithridates. He, with a chosen body of men, succeeded in breaking through the main body of the enemy, which had hemmed him in, and retreated to Pontus.

Lucullus hereupon marched through Asia Minor, taking possession of all the places which were in the interest of Mithridates, who was unable to offer any opposition. 3932; 5131.

The Roman soldiers who were with Lucullus, seeing no enemy with whom they could contend, began to murmur, expressing their dissatisfaction that he did not lead them against Mithridates. But Lucullus was unwilling to force the latter to extremity, saying, in answer to the murmurs of his troops, " If we persist in

the pursuit of Mithridates, he will obtain aid from Tigranes, and who can withstand *his* power?"* Mithridates again appearing in arms against the Romans, mutinies and treasons broke out among his troops; several of his generals deserting him and going over to the Romans. At length, utterly despairing of success in his contest with these people, he retired in a state of despondency to Armenia. Tigranes was so much offended at his conduct in thus relinquishing all hope, that he would not suffer him to appear in his presence for one year and eight months.

CHAPTER IV.

The Exploits of Tigranes against the People of Ptolomais, and afterwards against the Romans.

3934; 5133. WHILE Mithridates was thus a fugitive in Armenia from the Roman power, queen Selena, otherwise Cleopatra, the consort of Antiochus Pius, who, as we have seen, was driven out of Seleucia by Tigranes, excited a rebellion amongst the Assyrians and Seleucians, against the power of the Armenians. It will be recol-

* See Hist. B. II, c. 6.

lected that Tigranes in his conquest of Assyria, had left a few unimportant places in that kingdom unsubdued. These were possessed by queen Selena, the instigator of the rebellion alluded to. Her principal town was Ptolemais, whither all the rebels had repaired. Tigranes, on coming to the knowledge of this circumstance, drew together an army and besieged Ptolemais. He captured it, but the queen effected her escape to one of the fortresses of Seleucia, where, being pursued, she was taken and put to death. The Jews in Palestine fearing some hostile intention towards them, from the army collected by Tigranes, their queen Alexandra Selena, with the princes of her country, sent ambassadors to him while besieging Ptolemais, deprecating his anger and offering him valuable presents. They besought him to look with an eye of kindness on their nation, and to desist from all intention of injuring them. Tigranes was pleased with the embassy, and promised to regard the Jews as his friends. The Bagratians were under the greatest apprehension that some injury was meditated against them, but their fear was groundless. After he had quelled this rebellion, Tigranes returned to Mesopotamia.

On the news of the arrival of Tigranes at Antioch, Lucullus, the Roman general, sent one 3934; 5133.

of his officers named Appius to him, requiring the immediate delivery of Mithridates to the Roman State. "In the event of a refusal," says he, "we are prepared to commence hostilities with you." Tigranes replied, that it was impossible for him to comply with the demand of the Roman general, since Mithridates was connected with him by ties of kindred. With this answer he dismissed Appius, after having loaded him with presents. War now became inevitable between Tigranes and the Romans. Mithridates was immediately put in command of 10,000 cavalry, and dispatched with them to Pontus.

Lucullus, with his army, advanced upon Tigranakert and laid siege to it. Tigranes, hearing this, sent 6,000 troops to the place, which, taking the Romans by surprize, broke through their camp, entered the city, and succeeded in rescuing many of the king's concubines who resided there; and besides carried off a large quantity of treasure, with which they returned to Tigranes.

3935; 5134. On the publishing of this exploit the Romans were struck with shame and astonishment. Tigranes, having completed his warlike preparation, marched to meet Lucullus, attended by 360,000 men, all clad in iron armour. Lucullus hearing of this was much alarmed, and having left some troops at Tigranakert to continue the siege ad-

vanced towards the king with 24 cohorts and 1,000 slingers and archers, and having approached near the Armenian army pitched his camp on a large plain. When Tigranes observed the Roman troops, he exclaimed with contempt, "Who are these? Ambassadors or enemies? If the former, they come in large numbers; if the latter, they are very few." With this show of contempt, he gave himself no further trouble in providing against the chance of a defeat, but considered the Romans as already overthrown. He betook himself to his usual amusements, in which he was imitated by his soldiers. As for the army of Lucullus, they were greatly alarmed when they observed the vast army marshalled against them, and intimated to their commander a desire to commence a retreat. But Lucullus, knowing the careless security into which Tigranes was lulled by his too great contempt of the foes with whom he had to contend, encouraged his troops, telling them not to think of the numbers of the Armenians, but of the quantity of spoil they would secure in conquering them.

His language inspirited them, and they all demanded to be led to the attack. Tigranes in the meanwhile remained in a state of careless inaction, through a too great confidence in his numbers, and never dreamed of the possibility of an attack from the Romans until it actually com-

menced. Then all was confusion: the Romans, led on by their resolute commander, took the Armenians by surprize, and Tigranes, not being able to form his troops in order, directed the trumpets to sound a retreat. But it was too late: the Romans, by their judicious arrangements, soon made the Armenians take to indiscriminate flight: 5,000 of them were left dead on the field and many taken prisoners.

Tigranes himself took shelter in a fortress with some of his troops; the remainder dispersed, seeking shelter where they could. Lucullus then returned to Tigranakert, which he afterwards took and found in it vast treasures. About this time the cavalry of Tigranes in an excursion fell in with that of Lucullus, and gave it a complete overthrow. The Roman general being apprized of this, advanced against the Armenian horse with a body of lancers. The former retreated, feigning a flight, and on being pursued with more haste than judgement by the Romans, they turned about, and made such a desperate charge, accompanied by a flight of arrows, that almost the whole of the lancers were either killed or wounded. It is recorded by the Roman historians that the Armenian cavalry was the best in the world. The arrows which they discharged were barbed at the points, rendering them extremely dangerous, the

wounds they gave being dreadful, from the difficulty of extracting them from the body. And as they were extremely expert in the shooting of these weapons, scarcely one missed its object. The Roman lancers, unused to such enemies, fled in disorder. During the war between Tigranes and the Romans, Mazdat, the viceroy of Seleucia, rebelled against his benefactor, and caused Antiochus the 10th to ascend the throne of that kingdom, after it had been under the rule of Tigranes 14 years.

In the meanwhile Tigranes, burning with resentment against the Romans in consequence of his late defeat, appointed Mithridates to command an army against them. He continued fighting with various success.* 3936; 5135.

Tigranes once more made an incursion into Cappadocia with a powerful army: Lucullus, who was to oppose him, having marshalled his troops, found that fear prevailed amongst them, of which he himself was not entirely divested, and when he attempted to lead them to attack Tigranes, numbers of them deserted, and those who remained firm were too few to effect any thing. Cappadocia consequently fell into the hands of Tigranes, who restored it to Mithridates. From that period the latter began to recover the whole of

* See Hist. B. II, c. 8.

the places he had lost during his first unfortunate war with the Romans.

3938; 5137. Lucullus was shortly after superseded in the command of the Roman army in the east by Pompey the Great. Between him and Mithridates many battles were fought. The latter having collected an army of Scythians combated with great success, and succeeded in regaining the whole of Pontus. But what all the power of the Roman State had been unable to do for so many years, treachery at last effected: he was deserted by his prime minister, who had permitted himself to be seduced by the Romans, whom he joined with all his power and influence. His chiefs followed the example of his minister, and to crown the whole, his illegitimate son Pharnaces, forgetful of every principle of filial piety, raised an insurrection even in his camp, and marched with the insurgent soldiers to the attack of the fortress in Pontus, in which Mithridates had taken up his residence. At

3941; 5140. this moment despair seized him. He caused his two daughters Mithridata and Neussa, one betrothed to the king of Egypt and the other to the king of Cyprus, to be called before him, and having pathetically bewailed the events which had necessitated him to the measure he was about to take, he produced a cup of poison, which he declared it to be his intention to

drink, and advised them to die with him. They solicited their father to permit them first to perish, and taking the cup from his hands, drank a part of the poison of which they soon expired.

The wretched Mithridates drank the remainder, which not operating as quickly as he wished, he stabbed himself with his sword, which failed in producing the desired effect. He then sought to make the poison operate by walking. In the meantime the mob penetrated into the fortress and surrounded him on all sides, on which he called out to a soldier to guide his hand, and with a great effort plunged his sword into his breast, fell and expired. Thus perished Mithridates, after ruling various tribes for a period of 50 years.*

Before this event happened, Tiran, the son of Tigranes, having ingratiated himself with some of the Armenian chiefs, excited a rebellion against his father, and induced Arshez the king of Persia to join him. They marched against and captured several cities in Armenia. But having laid siege to the city of Artashat, it was so well defended that their efforts to reduce it were unavailing. After remaining before it some days, Arshez grew weary of the enterprize, and returned to his country. Tigranes, 3939; 5138.

* See Hist. B. II, c. 9.

who at this moment was engaged in a distant quarter, no sooner heard of this revolt than he marched with haste toward the rebels.

Tiran, not being sufficiently strong to make head against his father's forces, was obliged to make a precipitate retreat. Having no other resource, and being unwilling to encounter the anger of his father, he fled to Pompey. This general, guided by Tiran, entered Armenia, and shortly after made a peace between the Romans and Tigranes: the latter relinquishing all claims to that part of the countries of Assyria and Phœnicia lying between the Euphrates and the sea, to be thenceforward possessed by the Romans. He also gave up a part of Cappadocia and Cilicia. Tigranes bestowed great gifts on Pompey, with whom he entered into friendship. To each soldier of the Roman army he gave 150 pieces of silver, to every lieutenant 1,000, and to the captains 10,000 each. The two sons of the unfortunate Mithridates, whose names were Mithridates and Arsham, were delivered up to Pompey, with whom they proceeded to Rome. Here, shortly after, was formed that celebrated triumvirate by which the government of the three quarters of the globe were divided between Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus.

3945; 5144. After the peace between Tigranes and the

Romans, the former appointed his son Artavazd to reign over the country of Ararat. This event happened in the 33rd year of his reign, when the king was in Mesopotamia.

Gabius the Roman general, having been sent to superintend the government of Assyria lately ceded to the Roman power by Tigranes, there ensued a quarrel between them, in which Tigranes flew to arms, and attacked and conquered several places which he had before yielded up. Gabius alarmed for the safety of his government, speedily made peace with him, and as a means of conciliating his friendship, restored his two nephews Mithridates and Arsham, who, as we have related, had been before taken away by Pompey. Gabius shortly after went to Egypt to assist king Ptolemy against the Alexandrians. Crassus, that member of the triumvirate before alluded to, to whom the government of Asia was allotted, about this period came into Assyria, where he established the seat of his empire. Having, however, engaged in a war with the Parthians, he was killed in an engagement with that people.* 3949; 5148.

Cassius was the next governor of Assyria. Bibulus succeeded him. The latter was much harassed in his government by the Armenians, but finally the Romans succeeded in obtain-

* See Hist. B. II, c. 10 and 11.

ing possession of the whole of Assyria, part of which, as we before observed, was under the government of Tigranes.

CHAPTER V.

Other Transactions which occurred in the days of Tigranes.

3963; 5162. At this time Tigranes the king of Armenia, who was now advanced in years, fell sick. And as he was greatly beloved by his officers and ministers, an universal dejection prevailed. The circumstances with which we closed our last chapter respecting the loss of the Assyrian provinces being at this time communicated to him, contributed not a little to render him uneasy. The Romans were about making an expedition to the east for the purpose of avenging the death of Crassus. Their military preparations for this purpose being made known to Tigranes, he apprehended some danger from them. At length he determined on making an alliance offensive and defensive with Arshez the king of Persia. This measure could only be done by a voluntary relinquishment of that right of precedency which his father Artaces had succeeded in wresting from the Persian monarchs. Reflecting on the improbability of

his son being able to keep it, from his imbecility and the powerful enemies he had to contend with on all sides, he determined on sacrificing it. To do this the more effectually, and to render the league more binding, Tigranes agreed to give his daughter in marriage to Bacur the son of Arshez.

The king of Persia hereupon sent the Armenian monarch a large army commanded by his son Bacur or Pacorus. He also authorized Tigranes to treat with the Romans in his name, as his wisdom should direct. Tigranes also obtained the alliance of Barzaphran prince of the Rushtunians, to whom he confided the charge of the Armenian army, with the supreme command of all the combined forces, as well Persian as Armenian. Bacur merely received the rank of general in consequence of his high birth and dignity. The allied army marched against the Romans. Barzaphran's first campaign was directed against the Assyrians. Setting out from Upper Mesopotamia he speedily overran Assyria, and invaded Phœnicia. Antonius made an attempt to stop his progress, but, through the weakness of his army, was obliged to retreat before the invaders. He shortly after went to Rome. In this stage of the successes of the combined armies, Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, made an offer to the princes Barzaphran and

3964; 5163.

Bacur, through the medium of his friend Lysanias the prince of Assyria, that if they would dethrone Hyrcanus, the king and pontiff of Jerusalem, and place him in the government of that city, he would present them with 1,000 talents of gold, and 500 handsome women. Barzaphran gladly accepted the offer, and dividing his troops, sent Bacur with a portion along the sea coasts to Judea, and he with the remainder marched toward the Mediterranean. He drove the Romans before him, and advanced as far as Iconium, whence he returned to Assyria, for the purpose of joining his colleague Bacur in Judea.

Before their junction, however, the latter, assisted by Antigonus, had laid siege to Jerusalem. Hyrcanus, the king of this city, was assisted by Herod and his eldest brother Phæselus, so that a strong resistance was made. Nothing was effected until the approach of the Pentecost, when Hyrcanus and Phæselus hearing that Barzaphran was on his march to Judea to join the besiegers, sent messengers to him suing for peace. He received them with much pretended respect, and dispatched to Jerusalem a body of horse, under the command of Gnelus, the butler of Tigranes, of the tribe of the Gnunians, with the avowed purpose of making a peace between Hyrcanus and Antigonus, but with the secret design of as-

sisting the latter. Hyrcanus, however, not liking the appearance of such a large body of men, would admit only 500 within the walls of the city. Gnelus, meanwhile, began to act his part within. He endeavoured to persuade Hyrcanus and Phæselus to go to Barzaphran, promising them that he would intercede in their behalf. Hyrcanus and Phæselus hereupon sent messengers again to Barzaphran, requiring an oath from him to assure them of personal safety if they visited him. Barzaphran swore by the Sun and Moon, by all the Gods of the Parthians, and by the lives of Tigranes and Arshez, that they should be safe in their intended journey to him. Hyrcanus and Phæselus, placing confidence in these assurances, felt inclined to go; but Herod, doubting the good faith of Barzaphran, and suspecting the treachery of Gnelus, advised them to decline the offer. They, however, confided in the oath of Barzaphran, and after making over the city to Herod, started to perform their journey. They met Barzaphran at the village of Egtipon on the sea-shore.

He received them with much apparent respect, but leaving them shortly after, ordered his troops to seize and deliver them fettered into the hands of Antigonus. As soon as they came into the presence of the latter, he fell on Hyrcanus and bit off his ear, in order that in

the event of his subsequent release, it might be impossible for him to retain the office of high priest of the Jews; there being a law amongst these people, that all the priesthood should be entirely free from spot or blemish in their persons. Phæselus, the brother of Herod, struck with terror at the sight of this action, endeavoured to kill himself by beating his head against a stone, his hands being bound. He inflicted a severe wound on himself, although it had not the effect he wished. A surgeon being sent for to attend upon him, he was soon made away with by the application of poisonous dressings to the wound in his head, secretly directed by Antigonus. After these events Barzaphran sent directions to Gnelus, who had been so successful in his projects with regard to Hyrcanus and Phæselus, to endeavour to inveigle Herod also into his hands. But the latter, alarmed by the state in which Hyrcanus was kept, and aware from private information of the deceitful character of Gnelus, was proof against all his machinations. Not deeming it, however, safe to remain in Jerusalem, with a few of his relations he quitted it by night, and took refuge in the fortress of Masadan in the land of the Edomites. After providing for the safety of his family at this place, he went to the city of Petra, where

having collected 3,000 talents, he offered them to Barzaphran for the liberation of his brother, not being at this time aware of his tragical fate. When this was related to him he fell into an agony of grief, and quitting his country, departed for Rome.

Meeting with no further opposition, the allied Armenian and Persian army took possession of Jerusalem, where they found immense treasures belonging to Hyrcanus and his followers. Not content with these, they plundered several provinces, which were brought to the greatest distress by their depredations. They took the city of Marissa by storm and razed it to the ground. Barzaphran then caused Antigonus to be proclaimed king of the Jews, and leaving him in quiet possession of his throne, returned towards his own country. He left troops for the preservation of the newly-acquired kingdoms of Assyria and Cilicia, and ordered Bacur, attended by Gnelus and the cavalry of the two armies, to remain in Mesopotamia. He, with Hyrcanus and other captives, proceeded to Armenia, where Tigranes was waiting to receive him. The prisoners being presented to the latter, he assigned the Jews taken at the storm of Marrissa, a dwelling place in Semiramakert. In the meanwhile the Romans, being made acquainted with this expedition of

the Armenian and Persian armies, appointed Herod king of the Jews, and sent Ventidius, one of their generals, with a large force, to put him in possession of his kingdom, and to protect him from his enemies the Persians, Armenians, and partizans of Antigonus. On the arrival of Ventidius in Assyria, he soon cleared the country of the small body of men appointed by Barzaphran for its defence. The Roman army, after leaving a body of troops near the Euphrates, under the command of Silon, marched toward Jerusalem, to which they laid siege, but without effecting any thing. The Armenians and Persians during this time were mustering their forces to march against the enemy. They came upon Silon on the Euphrates, and vigorously charging his troops, massacred them almost without exception. Silon however, effected his escape to Ventidius. The latter was attacked by the troops of Mesopotamia, headed by the Persian prince Bacur and Gnelus. In this battle, which was severely contested, Bacur was killed, together with a vast number of the Armenian cavalry and Persian infantry.

3965; 5164. At this period Tigranes, king of Armenia, died at the age of 65, having been seated on the throne 54 years.*

* See Hist. B. II, note iv.

CHAPTER VI.

The Reigns of Artavazd the First and Arsham.

ARTAVAZD the First, son of Tigranes the Second, as we have seen in the last chapter, had been appointed during the life time of his father to govern the province of Ararat; he now succeeded to the throne, and changed the seat of government from Nisibis in Mesopotamia, which had always been the royal residence of the Arsacidæ, to Ararat. He gave his brothers and sisters the provinces of Aliovit and Arberaney to reside in, with their produce for subsistence. He also bestowed on them pensions equal to the allowances made to the other Arsacidæ dwelling in Hashtens. But Artavazd gave into dissolute habits and lost the affections of his soldiers and his other subjects. The former, weak and inefficient, were unable to protect the places confided to their charge, and many important possessions in Mesopotamia fell into the hands of the enemy, which created a deal of murmuring. Artavazd, awakened at length to a sense 3965; 5164.

of his errors, began to reform, and having collected a large army of Aluans and Georgians, with other troops drawn from Atropatia and the country about Mount Caucasus, he descended into Mesopotamia, and reconquered all the places which had been taken from him while he was in that state of indolence and inactivity, from which he had so lately extracted himself. Before Artavazd left Mesopotamia, Antony, the colleague of Augustus, marched with a large Roman army to invade Persia. The Armenian king, apprehensive of danger from this expedition, sent messengers to Antony, beseeching him to make a treaty with the Armenians, who, he promised, should always be the allies of the Romans. Antony granted the request, and when he was near the confines of Persia, sent to Artavazd to demand assistance against the enemies of the Romans. Artavazd was obliged by his treaty to assist Antony, yet he secretly furnished the Persians with supplies, by which means the Romans suffered a severe defeat, and with difficulty escaped into Armenia. Here they wintered, and in the spring returned to Assyria. Antony, it appears, was well aware of the treachery of his Armenian ally, but being at that time without the means of punishing it, was obliged to smother his resentment. He subse-

3968; 5167.

quently went into Egypt to Cleopatra, where he meditated vengeance against Artavazd.*

Some time after, when Artavazd was visiting Nisibis, there came messengers from Antony with an invitation to visit him in Egypt, designing to do him some injury if he accepted it. Artavazd suspected him, and therefore declined the proposal. Hereupon Antony asked the daughter of the king in marriage for his son, and by this means sought to inveigle him into his power. This also was refused. Antony then came into Armenia Minor, and desired Artavazd to meet him there, under the pretence of holding a consultation with him. But nothing could do away the suspicion of the king, and he retired into Lower Armenia. Antony then marched into Armenia Major, and circulating a rumour that he was about undertaking another expedition against Persia, sent an ambassador to Artavazd to invite him to a conference, but still without effect. The Armenian king continued to avoid him, and for that purpose retreated to Artashat. Antony then again tried by negotiation to induce Artavazd to meet him, sometimes through the medium of the friends of the king, at other times threatening to pursue him with his army. He also made him the most solemn promises that he 3970; 5169.

* See Hist. B. II, c. 13.

should be safe. Artavazd, at length overcome by the solicitations of his friends, and relying on the faith of the Roman, came into his camp, where he was no sooner arrived than Antony caused him to be arrested and fettered with golden chains.

This occurred in the fifth year of his reign. Antony also seized the sons of the Armenian king, and put chains on them, and with the whole of the family retired to Egypt, where they were made a present to queen Cleopatra. They were here obliged to suffer many indignities. They were forced to prostrate themselves before Cleopatra, and on their manifesting at first some reluctance to do this, they were treated with great severity by the Egyptian queen. After this Antony again came into Armenia, and appointed his son Alexander king of the country lying between the river Arax and Mesopotamia, that is, Lower Armenia, and he gave Upper Armenia, lying on the other side of the Arax, to the king of the Medes, whose daughter Johtapey was espoused to his son Alexander. He entrusted the king of Pontus with Armenia Minor. Shortly after, Antony descended to Ephesus, where he caused himself to be crowned, and struck coins, on which were engraved these words, "Antony the conqueror of Armenia."

Augustus, the emperor of Rome, immediately

subsequent had a quarrel with Antony; and there ensued a war between these two great commanders, the like to which the world had never before witnessed. Antony was defeated, and fled with disgrace into Egypt. Cleopatra, in the bitterness of her soul for the ill success of her paramour, caused king Artavazd to be beheaded. Antony, despairing of future success against Augustus, put himself to death, and Cleopatra quickly followed his example. She perished through the sting of an asp which she caused to be placed upon her arm.

Arsham, the brother of Tigranes, on the seizure of his nephew Artavazd by Antony, assumed the crown of Armenia at the age of 60 years, but was obliged by the Romans to flee into Persia, where he lived for some time in great distress. On the death of Antony, the king of Persia, Arshavir, assembled troops, and placing himself and Arsham, the lawful sovereign of Armenia, at their head, marched into Upper Armenia, drove out the Medes, and restored Arsham to the throne of his ancestors. Arsham then proceeded with an army into Lower Armenia, and succeeded in defeating the Romans who had been left there by Antony. He then saw himself, with the assistance of the Persians, in the entire possession of Armenia, even to the borders of Cesarea. Upper Armenia was shortly afterwards ceded to

3970; 5169.

3973; 5172.

Arshavir king Persia, for his late good offices, and he appointed Artashias his viceroy over that country, which from that period till the time of Ervand remained under the controul of foreign princes. On the news of the appointment of Augustus to the supreme command of the Romans reaching the ears of Arsham, he dispatched to Rome an ambassador, praying the emperor to set at liberty his nephews the sons of Artavazd. But Augustus, hearing of the recent conduct of Arsham toward the Romans, refused to grant his request. Arsham again sent to Rome, and offered to become tributary to the Roman power, and to pay a sum annually in token of it, through the medium of Herod, by the countries of Mesopotamia and Cesarea, if the emperor would liberate the Armenian princes.

Augustus acceded to this, and a treaty was in consequence signed between the two powers. Arsham then came into Mesopotamia and kept his court at Nisibis.

3984; 5183. Some time after this, Augustus visited Assyria for the second time, and was met there with great respect by the chiefs of Upper Armenia, who complained grievously of the Persian yoke. They besought him to deliver their country from the hardship under which they laboured, and offered to accept as their king, Tigranes, surnamed the Little, son of the deceased Artavazd,

then residing at Rome. They also declared their intention to remain faithful allies and obedient tributaries to the Romans. Augustus very joyfully accepted the terms which they offered, and appointed Tigranes to rule over them.

As the Persian king was engaged at this moment in many weighty affairs, and greatly feared the power of Augustus, with whom he had a short time before concluded a peace, no resistance to the abovementioned changes could be offered on his part. Arsham was much pleased with these arrangements, and preferred seeing the country in the possession of the grandson of Tigranes the Great, to beholding it in the hands of strangers. Arsham at length drew near his end. He died at an advanced age, having reigned 29 years, and leaving his son Abgar in full and undisputed possession of his throne.

CHAPTER VII.

The Reign of Abgar.

THIS prince was of muscular proportion, extremely tall, of gentle manners, and amiable disposition. He was celebrated for his wisdom, and excelled all his eastern contemporaries in talents both natural and acquired. Many 3999; 5198.

eulogiums have been passed on Abgar by both Latin and Greek historians. His Armenian subjects gave him the surname of "Avag-ayr" that is, "excellent in wisdom and estimable in manners." The Assyrians and Greeks not being able to pronounce these words correctly, some called him Avagar, others varied it to Apacar, but the general term into which this prince's surname sunk is Abgar. The Assyrians generally designated him Agpar, which signifies eminent or great. His original name after a short period ceased to be in use. This need not astonish our readers when they reflect that a variety of words in every language are sadly altered by the vulgar, through their incorrect pronunciation. Thus in Armenian for instance, instead of Astwazatoor, it is pronounced Astoor; instead of Mukhithar, Mukhik; for Martirose they say Mirto; for Carapiet, Curpo, &c. Again, a few more examples of the same kind are shewn in the words Valarsakert, called Alashkert; Arkori, Akori; Manavazakert, Manazkert; &c. Hence, with respect to the just surname Avag-Ayr; this was corrupted into Abgar.

4000; 5199. In the second year of the reign of Abgar, a decree was issued by the Emperor Augustus to tax all the kingdoms and states that acknowledged the Roman dominion, and also to erect statues of him in the religious temples of every

nation. In the same year it pleased our Blessed Saviour, the uncreate image of the Eternal Father, to assume the form of man, and to be born of the Holy Virgin. At the very period in which mankind was numbered, their Redeemer entered upon his labour. About this period 4001; 5200.
Herod, king of the Jews, puffed up with pride, sent statues of himself into various nations, with a command to place them in the temples near to those of Augustus. Abgar refused to comply with the wishes of the haughty and vain-glorious king, and thereby excited his resentment: nor was it long before an opportunity occurred by which he endeavoured to gratify it. Herod sent his nephew Joseph with a mighty force into Armenia, but the invaders were courageously met by Abgar and defeated; their leader was slain, with a great number of his troops. The survivors fled in terror and confusion. Herod soon after died.

The Emperor Augustus about this time began 4004; 5203.
to view Abgar with an eye of suspicion, on account of some unfavourable allegations of his enemies at Rome. Having been apprised of this by his friends, Abgar repaired to that city, to remove the unfavourable impression that had been made on the Emperor's mind, as well as to renew and confirm the treaty which existed between the Armenians and Romans. When A. D. 1.

11-128

Abgar was introduced into the presence of Augustus, the latter was astonished at the imposing and noble figure of the Armenian monarch. But when they entered into conversation, the emperor's astonishment changed to admiration, by reason of the wisdom displayed by Abgar. Augustus thenceforward regarded him with the warmest feeling of friendship, and during his stay could scarcely bear his absence for a single day, so great was the desire he felt to enjoy his society. He remained three years at Rome, and the Emperor with great reluctance permitted him to return to Armenia, which was indeed highly expedient, in consequence of the disordered state of affairs in that country. On his arrival at Nisibis, the king set about improving his dominions. He made many excellent laws, and beautified the kingdom by the erection of many edifices devoted to public purposes, and founded a city in Mesopotamia, to which he gave the name of Abgarshat.

A. D. 14. After the death of Augustus, and the succession of Tiberius to the supreme power at Rome, the latter took occasion to insult the Armenians in the person of Abgar, who determined to make an effort to shake off the Roman yoke. For this purpose he rebuilt the city of Edessa, and fortified it in such a manner as to be able to stand a long siege. He then removed his

court from Nisibis and established it at Edessa. Abgarus having remarked great talent for war in his nephew Sanatruk, he appointed him prince and general of the Armenians, and revealed to him his intention of revolting from the Romans. Sanatruk was then dispatched into the country of Artaz, with directions to discipline and increase the number of his troops, that they might be the more efficient in the approaching event. Arshavir, the king of Persia, at this juncture died, leaving three sons, Artaces, Caren, and Suren, with a daughter named Coshm. Quarrels broke out among the former about the succession to the throne of Persia. Artaces, as the eldest, wished to be king: the others disputed his right.

Things were in this state when Abgar, who had throughout reckoned upon the assistance of the Persians in his projected rebellion against the Romans, seeing that he would be obliged to relinquish all hope of aid from them, if these dissensions continued, marched an army into Persia and espoused the cause of Artaces. The latter, by the assistance of the Armenians, ascended the throne of Persia. In order to restore peace in the royal family, Abgar persuaded the whole three to listen to conditions on which they might live amicably. These were, that Artaces should possess the government

with hereditary right of succession, but in the event of a failure of issue, the offspring of his brothers should occupy the throne. In the mean time, the highest rank should be accorded to the Persian princes, who were styled Pahlavies from the name of their birth-place Pahl, and that they should yield precedence to none in the kingdom except the king. The young princes agreed to this, and unanimity was restored among them. From these two younger princes of Persia are descended the two illustrious families of the Pahlavies, these are the Carani Pahlavies, and the Sureni Pahlavies.

The Aspahapeti Pahlavies, not less noble than the other two, are the descendants of Coshm the daughter of Arshavir, sister of the three princes; the appellation Aspahapeti being de-
A. D. 23. rived from the name of her husband. After the settling of these affairs Abgar fell sick, being attacked by elephantiasis, and was obliged to return in haste to Edessa. At this time, Abgar was accused by the Emperor Tiberius of having gone to Persia for the purpose of exciting a rebellion, but he cleared himself from the charge. Another accusation started up against him from the hatred of Herod Antipas. For the purpose of vindicating his fame, he dispatched two messengers, accompanied by his courier Ananey, a faithful and diligent man, to

the Roman general Marinus, then in Palestine, in order that this officer might communicate his declarations of innocence to the emperor, and bear witness in his behalf. During the stay of the messengers of Abgar in Palestine, many wonders were related to them of the extraordinary power of Christ in curing the sick and maimed; and to gratify their curiosity, on their mission being concluded, they went to Jerusalem to see him. On their witnessing the miracles performed by our Lord, they were seized with wonder, and when they returned to Armenia, they related the particulars to their master. Abgar having listened to their accounts, became satisfied that this was the Son of God, and immediately sent back his messengers to Jerusalem with a letter to Christ. After acknowledging his belief that he was the true and only Son of God, and beseeching him to cure him of his disease, he concluded by inviting him to come into Armenia and reside with him, saying, "I have heard that the Jews murmur against you, and seek to destroy you. I have a small, but beautiful city, which I offer you to partake with me. It is sufficient for us both." He gave instructions to his messengers to offer sacrifices for him at the temple at Jerusalem, and also sent a painter with them, in order that if the Blessed Saviour would not come, he might possess a portrait of him.

The messengers on their arrival at Jerusalem, A.D. 30.

wished for an opportunity to present the letter of Abgar to Christ, but not presuming to approach him, they applied to Philip, one of his apostles, and said, "we wish to see Jesus and deliver a message to him." Philip thereupon called Andrew, and informed him of the desires of the messengers, and they both then went to Jesus to acquaint him with the object of the messengers' visit. Jesus testified much joy at the contents of Abgar's letter, and he directed the Apostle Thomas to write a reply to it, dictated from our Lord's own mouth. In this letter our Saviour says, "when I shall rise to my glory, I will send you one of my disciples, who shall remove your pains, and give life to you and those around you." It is related that as the painter before-mentioned was endeavouring to take the features of our Lord, Christ took a handkerchief, and passing it over his sacred face, miraculouly impressed on it an admirable likeness of his countenance, and giving it to Ananey the courier, desired him to take it to his master, as a reward for his faith. Abgar on receiving the letter and portrait worshipped the sacred semblance of our Blessed Redeemer, and ordering them to be preserved with great care, waited the fulfilment of our Lord's promise. After the ascension of Christ, Thomas the Apostle, according to the desire of Jesus, sent Thaddeus, one of

the seventy, to Abgar at Edessa. Thaddeus on his arrival instructed the king in the faith, and baptized him with all the people of Edessa. He likewise built a large church, over which he appointed a silk mercer, who had recently presented to the king a superb diadem made by his own hands, as bishop, giving him the name of Addey, which the Syrians call Aghey. Shortly after Thaddeus left Edessa and went into Inner Armenia, to visit Sanatruk, who was residing in the province of Shavarshan, or Artaz. By means of the instructions of Thaddeus Sanatruk became a christian, and was baptized, together with his daughter Sandukht, and a great number of the chiefs and common people about Artaz. The holy disciple of our Lord also consecrated a bishop here, named Zachariah, and thence proceeded to the country of the Aluans. Fired with zeal for the faith he had just A.D 31. embraced, Abgar wrote to Tiberius in favour of Christ, and many letters passed between the two monarchs on the subject of his divine mission. He also wrote to Artaces king of Persia, and to his son Nerseh, the young king of Assyria, exhorting them to become believers in Christ. Before he received replies to these, he A.D. 33. finished his career of life, dying in the 38th year of his reign, and the third of his conversion to Christianity.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Reigns of Ananey and of Sanatruk.

A. D. 34. THE kingdom of Armenia, after the death of king Abgar, of happy memory, fell into various disorders and divisions, in consequence of the crown being assumed by Ananey the son of the deceased monarch, and Sanatruk the nephew of the latter. Both reigned at the same time in opposition to each other. Ananey, having fixed his seat of government in Edessa, apostatized from the faith he had so lately embraced, and endeavoured to persuade his people to follow his example; he re-opened the temples of ancient superstition, and publicly worshipped the idols which they contained. He sent to Addey, the first bishop consecrated in Armenia, directing him to make a diadem for him as he had done for his father. The bishop replied, "My hands shall never make a diadem for the head that bows not in adoration of Jesus Christ!" The king, incensed at this, ordered Addey's feet to be cut off, by which the holy

bishop died. At this period Ananey, whose abominations doubtless drew upon him the vengeance of the Living God, being present while certain workmen were repairing a large marble pillar in the royal mansion at Edessa, and in the act of giving directions respecting the repairs, all at once the pillar fell upon him and broke his legs, which occasioned his death. Thus was the unjust and cruel king punished for the wanton destruction of the holy bishop Addey. Sanatruk, who had assumed the royal dignity in Shavarshan, also apostatized from christianity, and determining to be the sole monarch of Armenia, was preparing to invade the dominions of Ananey when the news of the latter's death reached him. Sanatruk then immediately marched with an army into Mesopotamia, where he had previously formed a party, composed of Bagratians and Arzrunians, which joined him as he advanced. The people of Edessa, who were christians, alarmed at the news of the approach of Sanatruk, sent to him and offered to submit, if he would swear not to molest them in the exercise of their religion, nor commit any kind of violence on them. This oath Sanatruk took, A. D. 38. but no sooner had he arrived in Edessa than he broke it, and cruelly massacred all the males of the house of Abgar. The females he

spared, and allotted them a maintenance at Hashtens. He sent queen Helena, the relict of Abgar, to Charran, giving her the government of Mesopotamia, in return for the kindness he had experienced by her means from his uncle. Queen Helena remained firm in the christian faith; highly endowed with the gifts of divine grace, she went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on a famine breaking out there, in the days of the Emperor Claudius, she sent for a large quantity of corn from Egypt, and distributed it to the poor. On her death she was pompously interred before one of the gates of Jerusalem, as a public benefactress, and a magnificent mausoleum was erected over her remains. On the news of the apostacy of Ananey and Sanatruk reaching Thaddeus, he was greatly grieved, and although he was then in Cappadocia he determined on returning to Armenia, to preach again the gospel to Sanatruk. On his reaching the borders of Mesopotamia, he fell in with an embassy sent by the Romans to Sanatruk, composed of five persons, patricians, of whom the chief was called Khrysos, which signifies gold. Thaddeus convinced them of the truth of Christianity, converted and baptized them. On Khrysos he conferred priest's orders. They all shortly after became preachers of the gospel, and were known by the name of

followers of the doctrines of Khrysos, from the name of their leader. In the lapse of time each A.D. 48. of these worthies obtained the crown of martyrdom. On the news of the conversion of these five individuals reaching Sanatruk, he invited Thaddeus to meet him in Shavarshan, and on the arrival there of the holy apostle he cruelly put him to death, together with his daughter Sandukht, who refused to apostatize, though she was promised her life on that condition. Many wonders were wrought at the death of Saint Thaddeus, which induced many to become believers in Christ, and courageously to suffer A.D. 50. death in the defence of their principles. At this time Bartholomew the apostle came into Armenia, bearing with him the portrait of the Virgin Mary;* and by his preaching converted numbers in Lower Armenia; amongst others Regina, the daughter of Sanatruk, with the principal officer of her household. When Sanatruk was informed of this he caused his sister to be seized and put to death. He also laid hands on Bartholomew, flayed him alive, and then crucified him in the city of Arevbanus, where his remains were afterwards interred. Jude, another of the apostles, also came into Armenia, and was put to death in the city of Ormi, where he was buried. We are also told that some of

* See Hist. B. II, c. 19.

the bones of the apostle Thomas, who suffered in India, were brought into Armenia, and placed in the village of Kholz in the province of Alznies. Eustathius, one of the seventy whom our Lord sent into various parts of the world to spread the faith, coming into Armenia, was put to death in Seunic, and his remains were interred in the place now called by his name, Setathev, or Tathev. Elisha, a disciple of Thaddeus or of Jude, accompanied by three others, came into Upper Armenia, where, by his preaching, almost all the inhabitants became Christians. He suffered martyrdom on the plain of Arghun. About this time Nero succeeded to the imperial purple at Rome, and Sanatruk sent an embassy to him with rich presents, to confirm the ancient treaty between the Armenians and Romans. Nero received the ambassadors courteously, and invited them to his palace. On their going thither they were met by Agrippina the emperor's mother, who, with Seneca, his ancient tutor, advised him to dismiss them without any further notice than that which he had previously taken of them.

A.D. 55. After Sanatruk had taken upon himself the government of Lower Armenia, the capital Nisibis sustained a violent shock of an earthquake, by which it was severely injured. Sanatruk therefore entirely demolished and rebuilt it on a

more magnificent scale, surrounding it with two immensely thick walls. He placed a statue of himself in the middle of the city, holding in one hand a piece of money, thereby indicating that in the rebuilding of the city his treasury was so much exhausted that only one piece of money remained in it. The remainder of his life Sanatruk passed in ease and pleasure, and at length died through a wound he received at a hunting party, from the hand of one of his attendants, whose arrow, discharged at one of the beasts they had enclosed, unfortunately struck the king. The reign of this monarch lasted 34 years, during four of which the kingdom was divided between him and Ananey the son of Abgar.

CHAPTER IX.

Events which happened among the Kings of Upper Armenia.

On the reduction of Upper Armenia by Antony, he had made it over, as we stated above, to the king of the Medes, from whom it came into the possession of Arshavir, the king of Persia: he, as was before related, appointed Artashias his viceroy, whose government was so grievous that the people were obliged to apply 3970; 5169.

for assistance to the Romans, who drove out the Persians, and settled Tigranes, surnamed the Little, upon the throne. For the sake of connection, all these particulars, though they have been related before, we have thought it necessary to recapitulate. On the death of Tigranes the Romans sent Erwaz his brother to succeed him on the throne. This appointment did not please the Armenians, who refused to admit him, flew to arms, and placed on the throne another Tigranes, also surnamed the Little. The war which this measure induced between them and the Romans, proving unsuccessful, they were again obliged to submit quietly to the latter, who caused them to dethrone Tigranes, and appoint Apirsam Arzrunean their king, an eminent and noble character. On the death of this monarch the Persians again interfered in the affairs of Armenia, in opposition to the Romans, and placed on the throne Arshez, the youngest son of their own king. This brought on another war, which ended in the defeat of the Persians and the consequent expulsion of Arshez. The Romans again became the possessors of the kingdom, and placed Zeno on the throne, the son of the king of Pontus, who assumed the
A. D. 35. name of Artaces. On the death of the latter, the Persians again attempted to subjugate the Armenians.

Artaces, king of Persia, succeeded in fixing the crown on the head of his eldest son Arsaces. Hereupon the Roman emperor Tiberius wrote to Mithridates, brother of Pharsman king of the Georgians, a brave and skilful man, desiring him to march with his troops into Upper Armenia, and assume the government of it. Mithridates, by means of intrigue, induced the domestics of Arsaces the king of Armenia to put the latter to death, promising them a large reward. On this event taking place he marched with his army to the city of Artashat, where he commenced his reign. The news of these changes reaching Artaces king of Persia, he sent his youngest son Arshez with a large body of men to reconquer the kingdom. But Mithridates having apprized his brother Pharsman of this expedition, the latter assisted by the Aluans and Sarmatians, attacked and dispersed the Persian troops, and confirmed his brother Mithridates in the possession of Armenia. A few A. D. 52. years then elapsed in peace, until Hiramizd, the son of Pharsman, coming on a visit to his uncle in Armenia, rekindled the torch of war, and plunged that unhappy country into all the horrors attendant on disunion. The circumstances which led to this war are these: Hiramizd during his visit, by his condescending disposition, made a great many friends in Armenia, and casting

an ambitious eye on the crown of his uncle, he returned to his father, and communicated to him a project for dispossessing Mithridates of his kingdom. Pharsman approving of his designs, Hiramizd set out with an army for the invasion of Armenia. Mithridates, terrified at the approach of his nephew, fled, but was pursued and taken with the whole of his family. Hiramizd, disregarding every feeling of kindred, put Mithridates and his queen to death, by suffocating them between thick cloths. He also murdered their sons, after making them witness the tragical end of their parents. In the meantime Darius, king of Persia, hearing the occurrences that had recently taken place in Upper Armenia, thought this a convenient opportunity for asserting his claim to the controul of that kingdom. He assembled a large army and entered Armenia, from which he soon compelled Hiramizd to flee. He then appointed his own brother Tirithus king, in the city of Artashat, who was willingly received by the Armenians, in consequence of his being a descendant of the
A. D. 53. Arsacidæ. After the king of Persia had retired from Armenia, Hiramizd returned, and endeavoured to expel Tirithus, but the latter had so much gained the affections of the people, that they all took up arms in his defence, and attacking the troops of Hiramizd, totally routed

them. Hiramizd with much difficulty saved himself from the dreadful slaughter which was made amongst his followers. At the close of the engagement, perceiving all hope of victory was vain, he placed his wife behind him on his horse and fled. She, in a state of pregnancy, was so much fatigued with the exertions they were obliged to make to escape the enemy, that she at length fainted. Hiramizd, bewildered and stupified at this event, drew his sword and stabbed her, being determined not to let her fall alive into the hands of their pursuers. Imagining her dead he threw her into a river, and directed his flight to Georgia.

Some shepherds dwelling near the river into which Hiramizd had cast his wife, having observed her body floating on the water, and hearing her groan, drew her out, dressed her wounds, and afforded her every assistance their slender means allowed them. Having succeeded in restoring her to her senses they demanded her name and circumstances, which she revealed. Hereupon they immediately conveyed her to the city of Artashat, and presented her to king Tirithus, who ordered her to be treated in every respect as a queen. When report conveyed to Rome the news of the ascendancy the Persians had obtained in Armenia, Nero ordered troops to be assembled from all quarters A. D. 55.

for their expulsion. He wrote for levies from Judea to Herod, Agrippa, and the other chiefs of that country; also from Assyria and Cilicia, to assist his troops in their intended expedition to Upper Armenia. The general appointed to command this vast army was Domitius Corbulo, Quadratus governor of Assyria being nominated
A. D. 56. his lieutenant. Corbulo, having assumed the command, advanced to the frontiers of Armenia, when hearing that Tirithus had collected a large force to oppose him, he paused awhile, being apprehensive that Darius the Persian king would take up arms in defence of his relation. To this monarch the Roman general sent proposals of peace; the principal of which was that he should consent to the expulsion of his brother Tirithus from Armenia. Darius appeared to desire no better, but in reality had no thoughts of complying with the demands of the Roman. He therefore amused the ambassadors of Corbulo with promises, and thus spun out the negotiation for more than a year, by which the Roman army was much distressed, from the uncongenial nature of the climate to which they were exposed.

A. D. 58. In the spring of the ensuing year Corbulo entered the country and committed great ravages. He captured three fortresses in Vanand, and slaughtered the population with the most

pitiless cruelty. The whole country became terrified at the excesses committed by the Roman army, and the inhabitants in general offered no resistance, but submitted to the conquerors as they advanced. Corbulo having seized most of the strong-holds which were in Armenia, marched forward to the capture of Artashat. Tirithus determined to make a stand for the protection of his capital; and having brought forward his troops, arranged them in such a manner that the Romans perceived themselves encompassed on all sides by their enemies. This manœuvre was performed by Tirithus with a view of intimidating the enemy, and imposing on Corbulo the belief that his forces were more numerous than they really were. The Romans remaining firm, Tirithus ordered the Armenian cavalry to charge, making a simultaneous attack with the whole of his infantry. The Romans were put into some confusion by the impetuosity of the charge of the Armenian horse, and a great slaughter ensued amongst them. The fight continued for a considerable time, the army of Tirithus also suffering severely; at length both parties drew off their forces, leaving the victory undecided. Tirithus, in consequence of the smallness of his numbers, which the late encounter also had so much diminished, retreated to recruit. Corbulo on the evening of the day

of the battle we have described, pushed forward one half of his army to Artashat, to begin the siege by annoying the inhabitants with incessant discharges of arrows, and the next day followed with the remainder. The inhabitants of the capital, terrified by the ravages the Roman army had committed in other parts of the kingdom, surrendered at discretion, thereby expecting to experience milder treatment. Corbulo, aware of his inability to keep the city, set it on fire, and totally destroyed it. He however spared the lives of the citizens.

A. D. 59. Corbulo prosecuted his conquests; and after some resistance in a few places, particularly at the city of Aparan, otherwise Tigranakert, the whole country submitted. In the meanwhile, Tirithus had gathered a few troops from the Medes and other nations, and attempted to make head against the Romans. Corbulo, however, in possession of all the important places in the kingdom, and at the head of an army flushed with victory, appearing on the frontiers, prevented even the entrance of Tirithus into the country. The latter, broken in spirit, retreated into Persia to his brother Darius. The whole of Armenia now exhibiting no further scenes of contest, Corbulo returned to Assyria, after having apppointed to the government Tigranes the Little, nephew of the first Tigranes the Little.

Darius, irritated beyond measure at these successes of the Romans, ordered his general Manech to set forward with the Persian cavalry to invade Upper Armenia, and to solicit aid from the Assyrians in his expedition. Manech's first enterprize was directed against the city of Aparan, where Tigranes the Little was holding his court, to which he laid siege. News of this invasion being dispatched to Rome, Nero sent a body of troops to Tigranes, headed by Betus, an eminent and warlike character, to maintain him in the possession of his kingdom. Betus attacked and took several fortresses, with such rapidity, that he threw the whole country into a state of consternation. Darius, on this being made known to him, hastened into Armenia, and being joined by great numbers of the population, attacked and defeated Betus in every place where he encountered him. Several Roman standards were captured, and Betus was obliged to withdraw his forces into impregnable forts, to save them from utter destruction. He then sent to Corbulo for assistance, and the more strongly to express the imminent danger in which he was, he says in his letter, "Hasten hither to preserve the Roman eagles, otherwise they fall into the hands of the Barbarians!" Immediately after this account reached Corbulo he marched into Armenia, accompanied by one-

A. D. 61.

A. D. 62.

half of his troops. In the mean time Darius blockaded Betus in the forts, where he and his men had taken refuge, and annoyed them so much that the latter had no other alternative than to treat with the Persians. He wrote to Darius demanding to be informed of the object of his wishes. Darius then appointed Vasak, the general of his cavalry, to hold a conference with Betus. On their meeting, the Roman general enumerated all the claims which the emperor had to the government of Upper Armenia, to which Vasak haughtily replied, "The means of restoring are in your hands, but the power of wresting is in the hands of the Parthians!" After a long debate, it was agreed that the Romans should be permitted to leave the country unmolested, that Tigranes should accompany them, and that the fortresses they then possessed should be restored to the Persians. Betus and his troops then marched out, and on their way from Armenia met Corbulo with his forces coming to their assistance. The former, dejected and ashamed, were in an agony of grief, on perceiving the relief they had so long expected so near; and the latter were in the highest degree indignant at the humiliation which their countrymen had been obliged to suffer. It is said, that on the two bodies meeting, they were unable to salute each

other, by reason of the different emotions with which their bosoms were filled. Darius, having placed his brother Tirithus once more on the throne, returned to Persia.

Up to this period the news of the progress of A. D. 63. the arms of her soldiers in Upper Armenia, had always been productive of joy at Rome; but on the late disastrous defeat of Betus being known, the Romans were overwhelmed with shame. Corbulo immediately received orders to attempt again the subjugation of Armenia. Having collected a large army, he marched forward to obey the mandate of the emperor. His real object, however, was not so much to wage war, as to make a peace of such a nature as would raise the glory of the Roman name. Several embassies being sent on both sides, it was at length agreed that Upper Armenia should remain in the hands of the Armenians, but that the emperor should have the power of nominating the king, and fixing the nature of the government.

Tirithus then resolved to proceed to Rome, A. D. 65. and receive the crown from the hands of the emperor. He determined to go thither by land, as the doctrine of the magi, whose religion he professed, declared that it would be impious to pollute the pure bosom of the ocean, by moving on it in a ship.

On the news arriving at Rome of the intention of Tirithus to visit that city, the emperor issued commands to the governors of those places through which he would have to pass, to pay him every kind of respect and honour. When he arrived on the confines of Italy, Nero sent a magnificent chariot to convey him to Rome, Tirithus having previously journeyed on
A. D. 66. horseback. On his approach to the imperial city, Nero came out to meet him; and as it was customary to be presented to the emperor unarmed, Tirithus was desired to lay aside his sword. This he refused to do; but to remove all suspicion, he caused the blade of his weapon to be nailed to the scabbard, and in this manner approaching the emperor, he kneeled and saluted him. The reception he met with from the latter was princely and kind, and the two monarchs proceeded to Rome together. The emperor had previously given directions to decorate the area before his palace with various ornaments, such as flowers, and garlands, and to illuminate the whole with torches and flambeaux. On their arrival, which was towards evening, Nero first alighted; and entered the area, clad in his imperial robes. Tirithus followed, habited as a Parthian; and seating himself on a throne prepared for the purpose, was then crowned by the hands of the emperor,

amidst the joyful acclamations of the assembled populace. After other solemnities, in which great honour and respect were paid to the Armenian king by Nero, the former returned with great pomp to his capital.

The emperor also gave directions that the city of Artashat, which had been destroyed by Corbulo, should be rebuilt at the imperial expense, and caused a great many architects and workmen to accompany Tirithus from Rome on his departure.

This ceremony of the coronation of Tirithus by the emperor took place A. D. 66, in the very year in which St. Peter and St. Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome. On the arrival of Tirithus A. D. 67. in Armenia he was met by all ranks of people with congratulations. He rebuilt the city of Artashat and established his court there, where he resided until his death, which happened nine years after. The kingdom of Upper Armenia did not last long, for on the death of Tirithus it was joined to Lower Armenia, under Erwand, the successor of Sanatruk, after a separation of about 85 years. See Hist. B. II, c. 20, 25.

CHAPTER X.

The reign of Erwand the Second.

A. D. 68. ERWAND, of the family of the Arsacidæ on the mother's side, succeeded Sanatruk in the government of Lower Armenia, and proved a warlike and truly great character. Athletic in his make, and with a particularly fierce expression of countenance, this prince could not be looked upon without inspiring a sensation of fear. But so amiable was he in manners, so generous in disposition, that he was universally beloved previous to his accession to the throne. During the life of Sanatruk, Erwand had more than once distinguished himself as possessed of more than ordinary talents, and on the death of this monarch, instead of one of his sons succeeding him, the chiefs and people with one voice called Erwand to the throne, neglecting the usual custom of summoning the Bagratian nobles to perform the ceremony of coronation. Erwand's advancement, however, proved the bane of his virtues; for, immediately after his assumption of the royal power, he stained his hands with

the blood of the innocent. Fearing future intrigues by the sons of Sanatruk, which might deprive him of the throne, he put the whole of them to death, with the exception of the youngest, named Artaces, whose nurse effected his escape to the province of Persarmenia, in the country of Heir, and gave information of the circumstance to Sumbat a powerful chieftain, son of Beurat the Bagratian. Sumbat took charge of Artaces, and fled with him to Darius king of Persia. This monarch, who had long known the valiant character which Sumbat bore, received the fugitives with kindness and respect, treating Sumbat as he would a Persian chief, and the young prince as one of his own sons, and the son of a king. When Erwand heard A. D. 69. of this, he applied to Darius and Sumbat, requesting them to put the prince to death; alleging that he was not the son of Sanatruk, but the offspring of a Mede and a shepherd. On their refusal to commit a crime of so horrible a nature, Erwand fell into great anxiety, fearing that when Artaces arrived at maturity, he would assert his right, and by the assistance of the Persians dispossess him of his crown. At this juncture A. D. 75. Tirithus, king of Upper Armenia, died; and Erwand determined to try to annex that kingdom to his own, in order that by possessing the whole force of Armenia, with the friendship of

the Romans, he might be able to make head against the future machinations of the young Artaces and the Persians.

He therefore dispatched an embassy to Rome to solicit Vespasian, who then wore the purple, to confer on him the government of the late Tirithus, offering to exchange for it all the possessions the Armenians had in Mesopotamia, and to pay some additional tribute. His negotiations at Rome met with a success that exceeded his most sanguine expectations, for he had contemplated some difficulties in obtaining from the emperor the object he sought. He then obtained the support of the chiefs of Upper Armenia, and without experiencing any opposition, took possession of the whole of that country. Immediately after this, he transferred his court from Nisibis, to the city of Armavir, in the province of Ararat, and commenced
A. D. 78. making improvements in his kingdom. He built a beautiful city between the rivers Arax and Akhurian, which he named after himself Erwandashat. To this city, after residing in Armavir three years, he removed the seat of his government. He however left his gods in Armavir, until he had erected another city on the banks of the Akhurian, when he brought them thither, after building magnificent temples for their reception. He appointed his brother

Erwaz chief priest, and called this city Bagaran. Another city owes its existence to the public spirit of this monarch, which is situated opposite to Erwandashat, and which took the name of Erwandakert.*

Erwand, after these works, cleared a large forest between the two rivers before mentioned, and formed in it a magnificent park, which he stocked with abundance of wild animals, such as deer, asses, and boars, for the purpose of enjoying the pleasures of the chace. All the actions of Erwand, in the mean time, were watched by an individual of the name of Tur, in the interest of Sumbat, who gave constant information of them to his employer, but being at length detected by the king was put to death. A. D. 83.

After a residence of eighteen years in Persia, when young Artaces had grown up to manhood, Sumbat his friend and guardian began to think of some means for restoring his young ward to his lawful inheritance. Having communicated his projects to Darius the king of Persia, the latter assisted him with troops to attempt the conquest of Armenia. He gave him a large body of Assyrians and the legion of Atropatia, with which, accompanied by young Artaces, then in his 20th year, he set out on his expedition. A. D. 87.

When the news of the march of Sumbat A. D. 88.

* See Hist. B. II, c. 27.

was communicated to Erwand, the latter was engaged in suppressing a rebellion which had broken out in Uti. He immediately gave over to his chiefs the government of Uti, which he had restored to tranquillity, and returned in haste to Erwandashat. He rapidly assembled, at a vast expense, an army to repel the invaders, composed of Armenians, Georgians, Cappadocians, Tyrians, and people from Mesopotamia. It being then the spring season, the whole of these troops soon met and joined. Argam his minister also appeared in arms, with a fine body of men armed with lances. Erwand, to encourage his troops to fight manfully and zealously in his cause, was profuse in his gifts to every individual. Nor did he forget to apply for assistance to the Romans; but these people, otherwise engaged, had no leisure to attend to his solicitations. Sumbat, unaware of the return of Erwand from Uti, passing the river Arax, marched with great haste to that country. The chiefs who had been left there by Erwand, informed of the approach of Sumbat, and recollecting with affection their deceased king Tirithus, came out to meet the young prince Artaces and his protector, declaring themselves his most zealous partizans. When intelligence of this defection reached the other Armenian chiefs with Erwand, they meditated

a revolt also, inspired by a desire of placing Artaces on the throne, and intimidated by the renown of Sumbat and the power of the chiefs who had lately joined him. Erwand, however, in order to conciliate and bind his followers to his interests, distributed large presents amongst them, in which he succeeded with many, especially with his foreign auxiliaries. He then prepared for the approaching contest. He passed to the northward of the river Akhurian, pitching his camp on a large plain, 300 furlongs distant from Erwandashat. Here he fortified himself, surrounding the whole of his camp with a wooden wall, well defended on the outside by a double cover of coarse cloth and the skins of beasts, and then calmly awaited the approach of his rival. Sumbat, with Artaces and the chiefs of Uti, having crossed the sea of Gelam, and passed the mountain Aragaz, drew near the camp of Erwand. Although the army of the latter was immense, Sumbat thought less of the whole than of the single power of Argam, of whom we made some mention before. He therefore endeavoured to seduce that great warrior from the interests of Erwand, and persuaded the young Artaces to offer him vast rewards if he would forsake the king. The young prince accordingly addressed him thus by letter, "If you will desert Erwand,

and join my standard, whatever benefits you may have received from him, I will increase twofold;" but before Argam had time to reply, Erwand moved out the wings of his army to the attack. Sumbat, perceiving this manœuvre, caused his troops to advance, and raising the standard of Artaces, bearing the devices of an eagle, a pigeon, and a dragon, directed the trumpets to sound. At this moment Argam, with the whole of the men he commanded, left the ranks of the king, and joined those of the prince. Hereupon Sumbat, with his new friends, began the conflict by an impetuous charge. Whilst both sides were fighting, and obstinately disputing every inch of ground, the Armenian chiefs stationed on the wings of the king's army suddenly drew off their men, and passed to the side of Artaces. The battle then raged with double fury, and the slaughter of the troops of Erwand was dreadful. Notwithstanding the obvious superiority in numbers of the army of the prince, the battle remained long doubtful, the soldiers of the king fighting with the most determined bravery. These were inspired to greater exertion by indignation at the treachery of Argam and the other Armenian chiefs, who had deserted them in the hour of danger; those by a certainty of victory, which their superior numbers and

partial successes led them to entertain. The Georgian troops, led on by their king Pharsman, the grandson of Pharsman the First, making an attack on that part where Sumbat was, were so warmly received that they took to flight. The slaughter of Erwand's army became now more severe. That part of it which had been collected in Cappadocia and Mesopotamia fought most courageously, but was dreadfully slaughtered by the adverse troops. It is said that the king's men, abandoning at last all hope of victory, fought with desperation. During the confusion of the battle, the young Artaces was at one moment in imminent danger: the Tyrian horsemen, who had been promised a large reward if they could kill him, had surrounded him, and while an uplifted sword was directed at his head, he was most providentially saved by the brave Ghisak, the son of his nurse, who, coming with a small party to his rescue at this critical moment, succeeded in driving back his opponents. Ghisak, however, fell in this act of devotion to his master, being cut down by a Tyrian horseman just as success had crowned his exertions. Night at length came on, and the army of Erwand, taking advantage of the darkness, retreated; and left the victory in the hands of Sumbat and his young ward. Erwand fled to the city of Erwandashat. Sumbat followed

in pursuit; and arriving there shortly after the king had entered, blocked up the principal gate, and then awaited the arrival of Artaces. The latter, at the conclusion of the late battle, took possession of the fortified camp of Erwand, and halted within the wall before mentioned. Argam with his troops encamped for the night on the field of battle. Before noon the next day, the young prince joined his brave and faithful Sumbat. As Erwand, it will be recollected, had circulated the false report of Artaces being the son of a Mede, the latter caused his troops to surround Erwandashat, in which the king had taken refuge, and all with one voice to shout in the Persian language "Mar amed!" that is, "The Mede is come!" From this little circumstance, the city thenceforward was also called Maramed. The army of Sumbat pressed the siege of Erwandashat, and having in an attack upon it penetrated as far as the inner ramparts, the inhabitants surrendered. Erwand had foreseen this event, and provided a ladder by which he might make his escape; but, unfortunately for him, the troops, in their first assault, ascended the wall by the very side where the ladder lay, and taking possession of it, left him no resource for avoiding his enemies. On the surrender of the place, he hid himself in a private apartment of his palace, but being dis-

covered by one of the soldiers of the young prince, the man dashed out his brains with a blow of his sabre. Artaces being informed of it, ordered his remains to be buried with all the pomp of a prince, his mother being of the race of the Arsacidæ. Thus perished Erwand after a reign of twenty years.

CHAPTER XI.

The reign of Artaces the Second.

ARTACES the son of Sanatruk, by the death of Erwand, was left in undisputed possession of the kingdom of Armenia. A. D. 88. After his coronation he distributed presents to the Medes and Persians, by whose means he had obtained his crown, and sent them back to their own country. To Sumbat, surnamed the Great, who had been the principal instrument of his success, he gave the rank of generalissimo of the Armenians, and the military superintendence of the whole of his dominions. Argam also experienced the gratitude of the king. Artaces gave him the rank and power of a viceroy, permitting him to wear a crown set with rubies; to place rings of gold in his ears; to wear on one of his feet a red

shoe; to use at meals a golden spoon and fork; and to drink out of golden vessels. These privileges, ridiculous as they may now appear, were the highest marks of favour conferred by the Armenian monarchs on their subjects and were eagerly sought for, by the ambitious in those times. He also created Nierses, the son of Ghisak, by whose valour he was saved from destruction, and who perished in the act of rescuing him, a great chief, and ennobled him by the title of Dimaxian.* Artaces distinguished with particular regard the fifteen sons of Tur, who, as we before related, had been put to death by Erwand for giving information of his motions to Sumbat and himself, when they were in Persia. The king, shortly after this, ordered Sumbat to seize Erwaz the chief priest, and brother of the late king, and to put him to death. Sumbat proceeded to Bagaram, seized Erwaz, tied a mill-stone about his neck, and threw him into the river Akhurian. He then appointed a person named Mogpashtey high priest, and taking all the treasures which the temples contained, brought them to Artaces, who, adding considerably to them, dispatched him with the whole to Persia, with directions

* This word signifies in Armenian half-faced, it was adopted by the king in order to perpetuate the recollection of the devoted loyalty of Ghisak, who perished in the defence of his Master, by a blow from a sabre, which clove his scull.

to present them to Darius, as a mark of his gratitude to that monarch for the paternal kindness with which he had treated him in the time of his adversity.

Artaces then repaired and considerably enlarged the city of Artashat. He raised many very beautiful edifices in it and fortified it; after which he made it the seat of his government. A. D. 89.

This prince protected and nourished commerce. He built bridges over various rivers, and constructed numbers of small ships, which by facilitating the transport of merchandize, furnished a means of livelihood to hundreds of the poorest of his subjects. He encouraged industry, and during his reign scarcely an individual in Armenia was in want of employment. He also divided the kingdom into districts, setting up pillars of stone to distinguish their boundaries, each having his name engraven on it. He was also a great lover of literature; for he founded many colleges for the instruction of the Armenian youth in astronomy, history, mathematics, &c. &c. and caused the sciences to be taught in the Armenian language, using the Persian and Syriac characters; the Armenian characters at that period not being invented. The fame of Artaces, on account of thus improving his kingdom, and the condition of his

subjects, spread into Persia and Media, and induced many individuals to leave these countries and settle in Armenia.

A. D. 90. Previous to the commencement of these undertakings, the king was disturbed by an irruption into Armenia of the tribes of the Alans, joined by the Ghec and Georgian mountaineers. Artaces having assembled an army, attacked and routed these invaders in a bloody battle, in which the son of their king was taken prisoner. The victorious troops pursued the fugitives, who threw themselves on the other side of the river Cur, where they rallied. The Armenians, having arrived on the banks of this river, halted and prepared to attack them. But the king of the Alans, uneasy on account of the capture of his son, on the morning after the day on which Artaces came in sight of his army, sent overtures of peace to him, promising if his son were restored, that the Alans should never again enter Armenia in a hostile manner. Artaces having refused to listen to these terms, Sathinik, the sister of the captive prince, came to the banks of the river, and standing on an elevated spot, with an interpreter, thus addressed the king; "Oh thou powerful and brave Artaces, who hast conquered the warlike Alans, hear the prayer of the distressed daughter of the king of that people, and restore to him

the youth my brother. It is unbecoming to indulge rancour and enmity against a fallen foe, and to take away his life. Let us then conclude a treaty of peace and friendship between our two great nations!" Artaces hearing the virgin speak thus wisely, and admiring her person, which was exceedingly beautiful, called Sumbat, and signified to him his desire to release the young Sathin, prince of the Alans, and make peace with the king of that people, if the latter would give him in marriage his daughter Sathinik.

Sumbat, having approved of the king's wishes, was dispatched to the king of the Alans, to inform him of the conditions on which his son would be restored, and hostilities should cease. The king of the Alans consenting, Sathin was set at liberty, and a treaty of peace being signed, Artaces became possessed of the beautiful Sathinik, with whom he returned to Artashat; on his arrival there, he made preparations for his nuptials, and the marriage shortly after took place. She was assigned the first place as queen amongst the women of the king. Many individuals of her nation having accompanied the bride, they were ennobled by the title of Aravelians. Some of them were the near relations of Sathinik, of whom the principal was Bahadras, surnamed Sukias. They were subsequently converted to christianity, and many

of them nobly suffered martyrdom in defence of the faith upon Mount Sukav. They were distinguished by the appellation of followers of Sukias.*

CHAPTER XII.

The exploits of the Sons of Artaces.

A. D. 106. ARTACES had six sons, viz. Artavazd, Vroyr, Majan, Tiran, Zareh, and Tigranes. Artavazd on reaching manhood distinguished himself by many valiant exploits, but proved, eventually, proud, cruel, and ambitious. Desiring to be the next in dignity to the king, he could not bear to see the venerable Argam possess that honour, and by his machinations caused him and all his family to be put to death. He then procured himself to be elevated to the post enjoyed
A. D. 110. by his victim. Sumbat, the great friend of the king his father, who had bestowed on him the highest honours, in consideration of his eminent services, did not escape the envy and malignity of Artavazd. This great man, having observed the intrigues of the king's eldest son, relinquished his office of generalissimo of the Armenians, and retired to the village of Alki, in the province of Timoris, near Assyria. Artavazd took possession of this appointment also, which awoke the jea-

* See Hist. Book II, c. 28.

lousy of his brothers, instigated by their women. Artaces, observing these dissensions among his children, sought to restore union and brotherly affection, by appointing the whole of them to charges of trust and importance. He gave to Vroyr the government and superintendence of all the royal mansions. He nominated Majan high priest of Jupiter, whose temple was in the fortress of Ani. The army he divided into four parts; the eastern, western, northern and southern: to Artavazd he allotted the eastern division, which was very numerous: the western division was confided to Tiran: the young Zareh had charge of the northern, which was stationed on the confines of Georgia, for the protection of the country from invasion in that quarter. The southern division, however, the king bestowed on his old servant Sumbat, who had by his persuasion returned from Timoris. Artaces, perceiving his kingdom in a flourishing condition, and his sons of a warlike spirit, threw off the Roman yoke. At this period the king of Persia revolted also from the Roman power. The news of these defections reaching the Emperor Trajan, who then wore the purple, he sent an army to the eastward to bring the rebellious nations again under his controul. This army appearing in the regions of Cesarea, Tiran who was stationed there, marched with his forces to meet the Romans. A battle ensued

A. D. 112.

A. D. 114.

in which the latter were victorious, and Tiran with his army was put to flight, and pursued as far as the extensive valley of Basen. Here the fugitives were met by the eastern and western divisions of the Armenian army under the command of Artavazd and Zareh. A junction of the whole was formed, and another stand made against the Romans, in which the Armenians were completely defeated.

Roused by a sense of glory, and the recollection of the valiant exploits of their father Artaces, they made another attempt to arrest the progress of the victorious enemy. A bloody engagement followed, in the middle of which, Sumbat, who had been long expected, arrived with his division in sight, and hastening to the attack of the Romans, with the rapidity of lightning, turned the tide of victory to the side of the young princes. These, animated by the example of the gallant Sumbat, fought with double determination. A rout of the enemy ensued, principally owing to the skill of the brave and undaunted Sumbat. The Romans were pursued to the borders of Cesarea, by the southern division under Sumbat, who, although an old man, made war with all the spirit and activity of youth. Elated by these successes, the Armenians, with the Persians, entered the countries of Cappadocia and Greece, and laid them waste with fire and sword. They extended their

devastations over the whole of Asia, throwing that quarter of the world into a state of horror and confusion. The people of Palestine and the Egyptians, observing the success with which the Armenians and Persians braved the Roman power, followed their example and revolted. Trajan, the Roman emperor, when he came to A. D. 115. the knowledge of all these events, gathered his troops, and with an immense force set out in person to quell the rebels. His first campaign was directed against Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia.

Having restored tranquillity there, and brought the people of these countries again under the imperial power, he prepared to go against the Armenians and Persians.

Artaces, perceiving the vast force the emperor was leading against him, and considering the advanced age of his valiant general Sumbat, turned his thoughts towards peace. He therefore set out to meet Trajan, with gifts of great value, by which he endeavoured to sooth his wrath. Artaces by this means so conciliated his good will that a treaty of peace and friendship was made between them.

The emperor then marched against the Persians, whom he subdued; and in consequence of the successful result of his expedition, he assumed the titles of "Parthicus et Armenicus,"

that is, Parthian and Armenian, as we may see in the coins of Trajan, on which these appellatives are engraven.

A. D. 116. Trajan, on his return to Europe, passing through Armenia, Majan the high priest took that opportunity of preferring complaints against his brothers Artavazd and Tiran, for some alleged offences against the Roman State. The emperor, however, gave little attention to it, and the unfortunate informer was shortly after in revenge assassinated, while hunting, by those whom he had selected as the victims of his jealousy. Majan was interred by his murderers in the village of Bagnies.

A. D. 127. A short time after, Artaces went into Media, and falling sick, repaired to the village of Bacurakert and there died, after a glorious

A. D. 128. reign of 41 years. In consequence of the eminent qualities of this prince, great was the sorrow which his death occasioned in Armenia. All ranks of people went into mourning. His funeral was magnificent. The coffin in which his remains were placed was of gold, and the shroud, in which he was wrapped, of fine linen, richly embroided. He lay in state for some time on a bed or couch of costly workmanship. His head was adorned with a crown, and a golden shield placed by his side. He was borne to the tomb in similar state,

surrounded by his sons and nearest relations. The troops preceded his corpse in their peculiar war-dress, and at intervals the trumpets sounded solemn dirges, which rendered the spectacle more impressive. On all sides men, women, and children vied with each other in their expressions of grief for the loss of this excellent monarch. At his grave many individuals voluntarily immolated themselves, in token of their devotion and love. He was indeed more deeply regretted than any prince that had ever before swayed the sceptre of Armenia. Songs were afterward composed, narrating his great exploits, and sung with the greatest enthusiasm by the Armenians, even to the times of Moses Chorenensis and Gregorius Magistratus. Similar songs were, it is said, composed on the death of Sumbat, that valiant and wise general, who so much contributed to the glory of Artaces.

CHAPTER XIII.

This chapter embraces the period between the reign of Artavazd the Second, and that of Valarsh.

ARTAVAZD the Second, the son of Artaces the Second, assumed the government of Armenia on the death of his father. In imitation of his renowned namesake and predecessor Artavazd A. D. 129.

the First, he exiled his brothers from his court, appointing them habitations in the provinces of Aliovit and Arberaney. Having, however, no offspring, he directed one of them, Tiran, to remain with him, in order that in the event of his decease he might succeed to the crown. This king from his infancy had been addicted to vicious and dissolute habits, altogether unworthy his great-

A. D. 130. ness and dignity. His reign was a short one, for going one day to hunt bears and wild asses, near Mount Ararat, he was obliged to cross the river Azat, which is also called Mezamore. After he had passed the bridge, which had been thrown over it by Artaces, he was suddenly deprived of his senses, and falling into a great pit, perished. His reign lasted two years. A fable, founded on the above incident, for a long period possessed the minds of the subjects of Artavazd. They believed that he still existed; but in a cell, and confined with chains of iron. Near him, it was also said, were two dogs, continually gnawing his fetters, for the purpose of releasing him; in the event of which, it was predicted, that he would conquer the world. But, so the story went, these chains were continually strengthened by the strokes of blacksmiths' hammers. Even to the time of Chorenensis, the belief of this fable was so strong in the minds of the ignorant blacksmiths, that

they were accustomed, on Sundays, to give three or four blows with their hammers on their anvils, that Artavazd might not get loose during their cessation from work. Tiran the First, brother of the last monarch, succeeded him. He remained in a state of peace and A. D. 131. tranquillity, spending almost all his time in hunting and other amusements. He had two horses of such swiftness, that it is said they went with the velocity of birds. One day, Datakey, prince of the Buznunians, wishing to reprehend the carelessness of the king in riding, requested the latter to lend him one of his horses. On mounting it, and discovering the value of the animal, Datakey exclaimed, "If I possessed such horses, I should deem myself happier than the most powerful of kings." When Antoninus A. D. 138. Pius became emperor of Rome, Tiran sent ambassadors to him to renew the treaty made by Trajan and Artaces, between the two states. Antoninus, in token of the friendship and protection of the Romans, sent him a royal crown and purple robes. The emperor also caused medals to be struck, on which were two figures engraven: one represented Antoninus himself, the other Tiran; the former with his hand placed on the shoulder of the latter; and the whole surmounted by this inscription, "Rex Armeniis datus," that is, "a

A. D. 144. king given to the Armenians." After this, Tiran went into Upper Armenia, and resided for some time in the province of Ekeliaz, a quiet and pleasant country, having appointed a chief named Erakhnavu, a wise and valiant man, to the government of Ararat, with the rank of his Lieutenant. Tiran finally settled his court at the village of Chermes, beautifying it by the erection of several magnificent palaces. This prince reigned in uninterrupted peace for twenty-two years, when he met his death in the following manner. Hunting one day on the mountains, he was crushed by the fall of an avalanche, or heap of snow, which had been suddenly thawed.

A. D. 153. Tigranes the Third, brother of the late king, and the youngest son of Artaces, succeeded to the vacant throne by the influence of the king of Persia. On the death of the emperor Antoninus Pius, the Armenians and Persians joined, and commenced hostilities against the Romans. Severianus, the Roman governor of Cappadocia, alarmed at this event, consulted the oracle of the god Gleucon, and received from the priest, Alexander, the following answer, "Thou shalt smite the Parthians and Armenians with the edge of the sword; and return to Rome with the laurels of victory. The streams of Tiber shall welcome thee with gladness, and thy brows be decorated with the garlands of con-

quest." Pleased and emboldened by this reply of the god, Severianus made a rapid march to Armenia, accompanied by a large army. He was met by the Armenian general Khosrove, commanding the combined armies, who attacked and totally routed him. His army was almost annihilated, and he fell by an arrow. Alexander, the priest before mentioned, apprized of the issue of this battle, erased the false oracle, which he had given Severianus, from the records of the temple, and wrote in its stead, " March not against Armenia, for there lie plots and snares, and imminent danger. A subtle man shall array himself against thee in the garb of a female, and prove a dire foe to thine army. Thou shalt perish by the discharge of an arrow, and thy country shall deplore thy defeat." When the news of the destruction of the Roman army reached Rome, Marcus Aurelius, who had succeeded Antoninus Pius in the imperial sway, sent his colleague, the joint emperor Verus Lucius, against the Armenians. Previous to this, however, Tigranes undertook an expedition into Armenia Minor, with a view of reducing it to his power. Unfortunately, he became enamoured of a certain female, who, using her power for the purpose of baffling his projects of conquest, allured him into a snare, seized his person, and placed him in confinement. Verus proved

A. D. 162.

successful against the enemies of Rome, and Armenia became again its tributary. Having discovered the circumstance of the imprisonment of Tigranes, and commiserating his condition, the Roman general exerted his influence and procured his release.

Pleased with the manners of the unfortunate Armenian monarch, Verus conceived a friendship for him, restored him his crown, and bestowed on him in marriage a Roman virgin named Ropua. Tigranes then, accompanied by a Roman general with a few troops, proceeded to his city Artashat. To commemorate this restoration Verus caused medals to be struck, after the manner of those we have recorded of the emperor Antoninus Pius.

A. D. 163. On the arrival of the king in Armenia he erected a temple near the remains of his brother Majan, who was lately deceased, and dedicated it to the gods. Tigranes had four sons by his wife Ropua, whom he created nobles, with the title of Ropuans. Having governed Armenia, in

A. D. 193. all 42 years, he died. Valarsh, the son of Tigranes the Third, by his first wife Memphara, succeeded his father on the throne, and was crowned in the city of Artashat. His mother, it is said, on her being pregnant with him, set out on a visit to the royal gardens, situated at some distance from the capital. It was winter, and

on her reaching the spot where the confluence of the rivers Arax and Murz, takes place, which is in the district of Basen, she was seized with the pains of labour, and there brought forth Valarsh. In commemoration of this circumstance, this prince, on ascending the throne, built a city on the spot where he first saw the light, and named it after himself Valarshavan. He afterwards extended and A. D. 197. adorned the village of Vardkes, situated on the river Casakh, surrounding it with strong fortifications, and changing its name to Valarshapat. To this place he subsequently transferred his court.

This monarch appointed a solemn festival in honour of Jupiter, the father and king of the gods, which he directed to be celebrated annually on the first of August, or "Navasard." This holiday was afterwards called the feast of Johannes Carapiet, and Athanagenes, martyrs. Valarsh also made considerable improvements in the province of Bagrevand, by erecting in it many public edifices, on which account it was also called Valarshakert, or Alashkert. About this period, Armenia was invaded by a A. D. 213. horde of Lazirs and Basils, branches of the Sarmatians, who entered the kingdom by the country of the Alans. Valarsh immediately assembled an army, attacked and routed the

invaders, who fled by the same way they had entered. This prince, hurried away by the impetuosity of his courage, followed them beyond the confines of his territories, and was unfortunately killed by one of their archers. The Armenians, irritated at the death of their leader, pursued the fugitives with double ardour, and burning with a desire of revenge, on overtaking them, gave no quarter, but slaughtered them without pity. The troops returned to Armenia in the most profound grief for their loss. Valarsh reigned twenty years.

CHAPTER XIV.

The reign of Khosrove the First.

A. D. 214. KHOSROVE the First, son of Valarsh, succeeded to the throne, on the death of his father. Immediately after this event he assembled an army, and passing the great mountain Caucasus, advanced against the Lazirs and Basils, to take vengeance on these warlike tribes for the death of the late king. His expedition was attended with the greatest success, and after destroying an immense number, he totally subjugated them. To restrain them from any future inroads he obliged them to give him hostages, at the rate

of one from every hundred of the population. He then caused a monument to be erected there commemorating his conquest, with a suitable inscription engraved upon it in Greek characters, and forthwith returned to Armenia. Khosrove, after the custom of the Armenian monarchs, then began to add improvements to his kingdom, erecting cities, towns, and villages, and adorning them with palaces, caravansaries, and other public buildings. In imitation of the persecution of the Jews by Pharaoh, this prince compelled all the Christians he found in his dominions to labour at these works, giving them but what was barely sufficient to support life as a remuneration. Many were put to death by him on account of their faith, and thus obtained the glorious crown of martyrdom.

At this time the emperor Antoninus Caracaila A. D. 217. came into Mesopotamia, and thence passed into Armenia. Khosrove, apprised of his approach, set out to meet him, supposing that he came with a friendly intention. After remaining a few days with him, the king wished to return, but the emperor, who had a secret design of taking possession of Armenia, prevented him. When the Armenians heard that their king was detained captive, they assembled in large force, and made a hostile march towards the Romans. Antoninus observing this, and not choosing to

come to blows at that time, released Khosrove. On the return of the former, however, to Nicodemia, he sent an army against Armenia, which was met by the troops of Khosrove, defeated, and put to flight. The emperor Antoninus, not not long after this, died, during a war which he was waging against Artavan, king of Persia.

A. D. 225. The latter, elated by the impunity with which he had braved the Roman power, set no bounds to his tyranny, and harrassed his subjects to that degree that at length a rebellion broke out, headed by the chief Artashir, the son of Sasan, a Persian, assisted by other distinguished leaders of the same nation. After a contest which lasted a year, Artavan was defeated and killed, and

A. D. 226. Artashir crowned king in his stead. In this civil war two of the tribes of the Pahlavies, the Surenies and Aspahapeties, took part with the rebels, the third (the Caranies) espoused the cause of the king, but were unable to effect any thing, by reason of the great unpopularity of the royal cause. By the death of Artavan the kingdom of Persia was lost to the family of Arsaces the Parthian, having been possessed by the descendants of the latter for a period of 475 years.

The dynasty of the Sasanians was established by Artashir, in the year of our Lord 226, which lasted 409 years, down to the period in which

the Hagarites seized the government. Khosrove, having previously taken up the cause of the deceased king of Persia, on the death of the latter, marched into Persia, to dispossess the usurper Artashir of the crown. Several years A. D. 246. elapsed in this war, until at length Artashir, being defeated, was obliged to quit Persia, and flee into India. Khosrove then returned to Atropatia and built a city in that country, which he called Davrej, that is, built to perpetuate the remembrance of the vengeance he had taken on Artashir. After finishing this work he went into the country of Uti. Artashir the Sasanian seeing that whilst Khos- A. D. 255. rove was in existence he could not hope to reign over Persia, determined to endeavour to destroy his enemy by treachery. For this purpose he offered a great sum of money to any of his chiefs who would undertake to assassinate the Armenian monarch. A chief of the name of Anak, of the tribe of the Surenian Pahlavies, tempted by the rich reward, accepted the commission, and immediately prepared to execute it. Pretending to be hostile to the interests of Artashir, he, with his family, came and settled in Armenia. He first arrived in the province of Artaz, and resided for a short time in the very place where the remains of St. Thaddeus the apostle lie. Here it was that Ogohey the

wife of Anak, conceived her child, afterwards St. Gregory the Illuminator, according to her
A. D. 257. information after delivery. Anak removed thence, for the completion of his project, to the city of Valarshapat, where the king Khosrove had taken up his residence. Here, and at this period of our history, St. Gregory was born, in the year of our Lord 257. Anak was received by the king with honour and respect, little suspecting the horrid fate that awaited him. The assassin having perceived his opportunity, struck the unfortunate Khosrove to the heart, and fled. He was immediately pursued by the Armenian soldiers, to avoid falling into whose hands he plunged into the river Arax, and was drowned. The troops then seized the family of the assassin, and massacred every member of it except our blessed Illuminator, St. Gregory, who was saved by his nurse Sophia, assisted by her brother Euthalius, both of whom were christians and natives of Cesarea, whither they fled with the child. He was there baptized by them, and named Gregory, agreeably to a divine revelation which had shortly before been made concerning him. When he attained the age of maturity, Sophia caused him to marry Mary, the daughter of one David, a christian proselyte, from whom two sons were born named Vertannes and Aristakes. The latter

entered a monastery, and became a monk, the former married and had two sons.*

Artashir, of whom we before stated some particulars, being apprised of the death of Khosrove, advanced into Armenia with a great force, and having then no competitor, with ease subjugated it. He put to death the sons of the deceased monarch, with the exception of the youngest, named Tiridates, who was saved by a chief called Artavazd the Mandakunian, and taken by him into Cesarea, where he remained with his protector for some time; they afterward both removed to Rome. The emperor received them graciously, and appointed the young prince to an honourable situation, under the guidance of the celebrated Roman chief Licinius. A daughter of Khosrove, whose name was Kosrovedught, was also rescued from the death to which she had been doomed by Artashir, by an Amatunian chief, named Otah, who took her to the fortress of Ani, and there brought her up in secresy. One of the sisters also of Artavazd the Mandakunian, took refuge with an individual named Tachat, who carried her into Cesarea and married her. Artashir having tranquillized the country, remained in quiet possession of the throne twenty-six years, when he died. Tiridates, in the meantime, grown A. D. 260.

* See Hist. B. II, c. 31.

up to manhood, particularly distinguished himself in the Roman armies, as a brave, warlike, and skilful character. Gregory the Illuminator, hearing of his renown, went to Rome to see him; yet, although he placed himself about the person of the prince, he did not disclose to him
A. D. 285. his real name and character. At this period Diocletian, who had lately assumed the imperial sway, declared war against Hirchey, king of the Goths, and Tiridates accompanied the Roman army sent against those people. On a battle taking place between the two nations, Tiridates engaged Hirchey in single combat, overthrew and took him prisoner, for which he was much honoured and praised by Diocletian. The emperor, who had hitherto omitted enquiring into the circumstances of the gallant young Armenian, upon hearing that he was the son of Khosrove, king of Armenia, directed him to take possession of that kingdom as his lawful inheritance.*

* See Hist. B. II, c. 32.

CHAPTER XV.

The Reign of Tiridates—the revival of Christianity in Armenia by St. Gregory, and appointment of Aristakes and Vertannes to the Pontificate.

TIRIDATES, to fulfil the kind order of the Roman emperor, which we mentioned at the conclusion of the last chapter, set out for Armenia with a Roman army, accompanied by Saint Gregory. This occurred in the third year of the reign of Diocletian. On his arrival in Cesarea, he was met by all the Armenian chiefs, who had been previously apprised of the object of his expedition, and received by them as their king without the least show of opposition. He then took upon himself the government of the nation, under the title of Tiridates the First; he was crowned by Sumbat, a Bagratian chief, and a descendant of Sumbat the Beuratian. A. D. 286.

Tiridates having proceeded to the fortress of Ani, there experienced the unexpected pleasure of finding his sister living under the protection of Otah, the chief of whom we spoke before. To

testify his obligations to this individual, the king invested him with the rank and power of an Armenian general. On Artavazd the Mandakunian, who had saved him from the bloody hands of Artashir, he also bestowed great honours, making him generalissimo of the Armenian army. Tachat, whom we mentioned in the preceding chapter as having saved from death, and married the sister of Artavazd, he appointed governor of the province of Ashoz. Tiridates then visited the province of Ekeliaz, in which was a temple of the goddess Anahites, to whom he offered sacrifices. Having invited Gregory to join him in his idolatry, the latter refused, upon which the king tortured him, in twelve different modes. At length coming to the knowledge of his being the son of Anak, the murderer of his father, he ordered him to be taken to the fortress of Artashat and thrown into a deep dungeon, where he remained fourteen years, being supported all that time, through the mercy of the Lord, by the charity
A. D. 287. of a pious christian woman. After this, Tiridates collected troops from Armenia, and joining them with the Roman army which had accompanied him on his restoration to his kingdom, marched to reduce those Armenian cities that were yet under the controul of the Persians. He captured them, after having three times overthrown

in battle Shapuh the king of Persia and son of Artashir. Thenceforward he governed the whole of Armenia, his sway being acknowledged as far as the city of Tisbon near Nineveh. The country of Atropatia, however, still remained under the controul of Persia, as did Mesopotamia under that of Rome. Having brought the nation to an admirable state of order, Tiridates married Ashkhen, the daughter of the king of the Alans, giving her the title of Arsacian and queen, terms used to express the highest honours to which a woman could be raised.

From this union was born Khosrove the Little. About this time the Ripsimian Nuns appeared in Armenia, having originally come from the Roman States, thirty-seven of whom shortly after suffered martyrdom.*

Not long after the marriage of Tiridates, he and many of the Armenian chiefs were visited by the wrath of God, for their persecution of the saints, with a sore disease, which the Almighty caused to affect them. The virgin Khosrovedught, sister of the king, having received a divine revelation, advised the Armenians to release Saint Gregory from his dungeon, by which act the divine anger would be appeased, and his sufferings would cease. The latter, on his enlargement, came and healed the king and A. D. 301.

* See Hist. B. II, c. 34.

all those that were afflicted in the same way; and having preached the Gospel to them, happily effected their conversion. St. Gregory afterwards went to Cesarea, where he was consecrated Archbishop of Armenia, by Leondius the metropolitan, in the year of our Lord 302. On his return to Armenia he baptized the whole nation, with king Tiridates, to whom he gave the christian name of Johannes. He consecrated four hundred bishops, and an immense number of priests, and erected various churches, convents, nunneries, hospitals, and schools. He also instituted religious feasts and other ecclesiastical ceremonies, and diffused the light
A. D. 318. of the Gospel throughout the land. He appointed his son Aristakes archbishop with himself, in order that he might be able to retire at certain times into solitary places for the purposes of devotion. This he often did, remaining, for considerable periods, plunged in the deepest meditation. In the course of a short time news reached Armenia that the Emperor Constantine was a convert to christianity; whereupon Tiridates and Saint Gregory undertook a journey to Constantinople to visit him. On their arrival at Rome an alliance between the two nations was solemnly agreed upon, and Gregory was consecrated pontiff of all Armenia, by Saint
A. D. 319. Silvester, head of the Romish church. On their

return, Tiridates heard that the country of the Aluans had been invaded by people from the north. Collecting his troops he marched to their assistance, and coming on the invaders unexpectedly, totally defeated them. During the heat of the battle the Armenian generalissimo received a wound in the back, of which he shortly after died. The enemy were obliged to take to indiscriminate flight. Tiridates then determined to march against his old enemy Shapuh the Persian king; he appointed four generals to succeed the deceased Artavazd in the command of the army, and having led his forces against the Persians, he gained several splendid victories over them. Having at length made peace he returned to his capital.*

At this period of our history the famous Council of Nice was held, at which the Emperor Constantine invited Tiridates, with Saint Gregory to assist. Some important affairs, however, demanding their stay in Armenia, they sent St. Aristakes in their stead. The latter arrived there before the conclusion of the sittings of the council, and having taken the creed of the fathers, he returned with it to Armenia. Gregory, on his receiving this creed A. D. 325.

* See Hist, B. II, c. 35—39.

assembled his clergy and chaunted a grand Te Deum.*

A. D. 331. From this period Saint Gregory withdrew himself from all intercourse with men, and retiring into Upper Armenia, took up his abode in a cavern in Mount Sepuh. Here he lived, more like an incorporate cherub than a carnal creature, until his final departure from this life to inherit the reward of the righteous,—joys unutterable. The whole time of his superintendence of the Armenian church was thirty years, reckoning to the period of his final seclusion. Some few years after, his body was found by a hermit named Garnick, who was directed to the spot where it lay by divine revelation. His remains were at first placed in Thordan, but afterwards transported to the city of Valarshapat.

A. D. 332. Aristakes, or Rustakes, the youngest son of Gregory, on the retirement of his father, sat in the pontifical chair, agreeably to the commands of the latter. He governed the Armenian church with prudence and holiness; he built a number of churches and convents, and made many laudable improvements in the spiritual affairs of the people. He was unremittingly zealous in the discharge of his functions, admonishing without distinction the prince and the peasant, when their conduct was

* See Hist. B. II, c. 40.

blameable. One of the Armenian chiefs called Archelaus, styled prince of the fourth Armenia, having been admonished by Aristakes for the dislike he bore him, the former was so much incensed, that waylaying the pontiff while going on a visit to the province of Zophs, he killed him. His body was conveyed to the province of Ekeliaz and buried in the village of Thil. This pontiff presided over Armenia for seven years.

Vertannes, his eldest brother, succeeded him. He was a man of uncommon piety, wisdom, and zeal, and ever on the watch to improve the state of his church. Desiring to bring into use amongst the Armenian churches, the ceremonies of the church of Jerusalem, Vertannes sent to Macarius, the patriarch of that city for information thereupon. The latter, having held a synod, furnished him with eight canons, embracing the whole of the sacraments in use with the believers in that patriarchate. At this period St. Jacob, the patriarch of Nisibis, the cousin of St. Gregory, and son of Khosrovedught the sister of Anak, being much famed for his wisdom and sanctity, St. Vertannes wrote to him for information on prayers of faith and other subjects. The former, on this account, composed for him eighteen treatises, which contain most excellent doctrine.* Saint Vertan- A. D. 339. A. D. 340.

* See Hist. B. II, c. 40.

nes, after this, consecrated his eldest son Gregory an archbishop, and sent him amongst the Aluans, by whom he was shortly after martyred. It is supposed that from this must have originated the pontificate of the Aluans.* In the meantime, notwithstanding the zealous labour of Saint Vertannes, many of the Armenian chiefs relaxed from the strict observance of christian piety, by taking concubines and committing other indecencies. When Tiridates, of blessed memory, beheld these actions of his principal subjects, he besought them to desist from their iniquity, and to lead a life consistent with the purity of the christian faith: on perceiving the inefficacy of his exhortations, and that the chiefs daily departed from the paths of virtue, he became disgusted with the affairs of the world, and relinquishing his earthly crown, devoted himself to the attainment of an heavenly one. He retired from the government, and secluded himself in the same place, on Mount Sepuh, where St. Gregory died, where he lived a life of the greatest mortification and self-denial; wholly devoting himself to the worship of his Creator
A.D. 341. and the Blessed Saviour. The chiefs then assembled together, and after deliberating on the state of the kingdom, determined to endeavour to induce their old king to return, promising,

* See Hist. B. II. c. 41.

in that event, to amend their lives. But he, knowing their ill dispositions, refused to resume his crown, for which they in revenge poisoned him.

Thus perished, as the Armenian records express it, "the brilliant mirror of piety," after a reign of fifty-six years, being then in his eighty-fifth year. His remains were interred in the fortress of Ani in Kamakh. They attempted also to kill St. Vertannes, but on their surrounding him to complete their bloody designs, their hands were withheld by an invisible power, and the blessed Bishop passed through them unhurt. He retired to the village of Thil, accompanied by the holy consort of St. Tiridates, and his sister Khosrovedught. Here they lived a life of peace and happiness in the exercise of devotion, and in due time were translated to God.

CHAPTER XVI.

The reign of Khosrove the Second.

On the death of Tiridates the Aluans rebelled. A chief of this tribe, named Sanatruk, of a branch of the Arsacidæ, assumed the kingly power and usurped the government. He also sought to obtain the crown of Armenia. Ano- A. D. 342.

ther prince, Bacur, governor of the country of Alznies, followed the example of Sanatruk, and became independent, having secured the alliance and protection of the Persians. These examples caused other chiefs to deem themselves free, and Armenia became the scene of daily tumults, contentions, and rebellion. A feud broke out between three noble families, the Buznunians, Manavazians, and Dunians or Ordunians, by which they were all destroyed
A. D. 343. and their races became extinct. Some chiefs, more than ordinarily well disposed, at this crisis came to St. Vertannes, who was still alive, but living in obscurity, and having consulted with him, determined on appointing a head to the nation. Their choice fell upon Khosrove, the son of the deceased Tiridates, to render whose sway more successful and permanent, they applied to the Romans for assistance to subdue the rebels. Constantine the emperor, son of Constantine the Great, sent them a large force under the command of Antiochus, steward of his house, with a letter expressive of his friendship, kingly garments, and a crown, for the purpose of investing Khosrove with the sovereign authority.

A. D. 344. The ceremony of this prince's coronation having been performed, Antiochus presiding at the spectacle as representative of the emperor,

Khosrove set about organizing an army, agreeably to the military establishment during the reign of his father Tiridates. Mihran, the Georgian king, was appointed to the command of the troops in the north; Manachihr, chief of the Rushtunians, of those in the south; Bagarat, a Bagratian noble, of those in the west; and Vahan, the Amatunian chief, of those in the east. After these arrangements Manachihr was sent against the rebel Bacur, the consul of Alznies, assisted by the troops of Cilicia, brought into Armenia by Antiochus. Vahan was dispatched to reduce Atropatia, taking with him, in addition to his own divisions the troops of Galatia. Antiochus then, after having joined the two divisions of Mihran and Bagarat, and added to them his Grecian troops, marched against Sanatruk. The latter, not daring to await the approach of the combined armies, fled into Persia, to Shapuh, taking with him many of the chiefs of the Aluans. Antiochus then stationed the Armenian troops on the boundaries of that country, to intercept the rebel chief should he venture to return, and having collected the usual tribute, proceeded to Constantinople.

Manichihr's expedition met with still greater success. He encountered Bacur, defeated, and killed him, capturing his son and daughter, the former of whom was named Hesha, whom he

sent prisoners to Khosrove. He then invaded the country beyond Nisibis and pillaged it, taking a number of prisoners. Amongst the latter were eight deacons of St. Jacob of Nisibis, whom Manachihr ordered to be thrown into the sea, at which the saint was so enraged that he solemnly cursed him and his country. Manachihr was visited by the vengeance of heaven for his cruelty, and died miserably: his
A. D. 346. country became barren and desolate. After the conclusion of these wars king Khosrove began to take a delight in hunting; and for the gratification of his favourite pastime, planted a large forest near the river Azat, which he called Khosrovakert after his name. Near it, on an eminence, he laid the foundation of a city, and named it Duin, which in Persian signifies a hill. To this he subsequently removed his court, which at this time was held in Artashat.

A. D. 350. While the king was engaged in the building of his new city, the northern nations again rebelled, incited by Shapuh, king of Persia, at the instigation of the old rebel Sanatruk. At the head of 20,000 men they entered Armenia, and devastated the country as they advanced. Khosrove hastily assembled his troops to repel the invaders. Placing himself at the head of the southern division of his army, he directed Mihran to join him with the Georgian

soldiers and northern division. With these he crossed the river Arax, and directed his march to the westward; at the same time he issued orders to Bagarat and Vahan to lead the eastern and western divisions towards the north. The enemy attacked the troops commanded by the king and Mihran, and after a severe contest, gave them a complete defeat. Mihran was killed in the action, and the king, with the remnant of his men, obliged to flee into the country of Zophs. Shapuh and Sanatruk then advanced to the city of Valarshapat, to which they laid siege. Whilst they were pushing on their operations here, Bagarat and Vahan arrived with their respective troops, when a fight ensued, in which the Armenians proved victorious, driving their foes beyond the fortress of Oshakan. The country into which the Persians were pursued was almost impassable, from the strong nature of the ground. Here the enemy determined to make another stand against the victorious leaders Bagarat and Vahan. A battle more obstinately disputed than the former here followed. In the midst of the conflict a man of gigantic stature and cased in impenetrable armour, issued from the enemy's ranks, and made dreadful havock amongst the troops of Vahan and Bagarat; and although hundreds of arrows were discharged at him, yet not a wound was inflicted. Vahan

perceiving the destruction this redoubtable warrior spread around him, cast his eyes towards the church of Etchmiatchin, (erected by St. Gregory the Illuminator), at a short distance from the scene of the combat, and thus exclaimed: "Oh God! who didst guide the stone slung by David to the eye of the proud Goliah, direct my spear to the eye of this mighty man!" whereupon he threw his spear with all his might against the giant. The weapon happily penetrated his eye, and brought him to the ground. The Armenian army, inspirited by this miracle, as it was deemed, fought with redoubled courage, and put the enemy to the rout, after killing an immense number of them. The victorious leaders returned with their troops to the country of Zophs. They were here met by the king, who in gratitude to Vahan for the exertions he had made, gave him a grant of the ground upon which the enemy were defeated, together with the fortress of Oshakan. The two deceased generals Mihran and Manachihr were succeeded in their appointments by Garjoyle Malkhazuni, and Zura, the son of Manachihr; Garjoyle assuming the command of the northern division, and Zura of the southern. The rank of generalissimo of the Armenian army was given to Arshavir the Camsaracan, who had particularly distinguished himself in the late contest. Khosrove, a short

time after, died, having been in possession of the throne nine years, and was interred near his father in the city of Ani.

CHAPTER XVII.

The reign of Tiran the Second, and the pontificates of Husik and Pharnerseh.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Khosrove the Second, St. Vertannes convened all the Armenian chiefs and generals, and consulted with them upon the expediency of soon filling the vacant throne. Having deliberated, they called Tiran, son of the late monarch, to the crown. St. Vertannes then, having delivered charge of the country to Arshavir the Camsaracan, took Tiran with him, and proceeded to Constantinople, to present him to the emperor Constantine; and to acquaint the latter with the choice of the Armenians as to the successor of Khosrove to the sceptre of their kingdom. When the report of the death of the late monarch, and the election and subsequent departure of Tiran, reached Persia, Shapuh determined to make an attempt to obtain the sovereignty of Armenia for one of his own family. He therefore assembled a large army, and gave the command of it to Nerseh his step-brother; whom he directed to A. D. 353.

march toward that country and by force supplant the absent Tiran. Arshavir, who as we have stated, had been left in charge of the kingdom, on hearing of this expedition of the Persians, collected his men and marched to oppose the enemy. The adverse armies met on the field of Mirugh, where a bloody battle took place. Unfortunately, many jealousies and other dissensions broke out amongst the Armenian chiefs, and caused them to suffer a defeat. Having perceived, at last, how fatal disunions were, they became reconciled, and hazarding another battle, put the Persians to flight. Some time after, the northern nations made an inroad into Armenia, by the province of the Aluans, but being resolutely opposed, they were soon dis-
A. D. 353. persed, and driven beyond the frontiers. Constantine the emperor having confirmed the choice of the nation, Tiran returned from Constantinople. He assumed the regal authority under the title of Tiran the Second. He made peace with Shapuh, king of Persia, paying him a tribute equal to that which he paid the emperor. Tiran was a prince of very effeminate manners, and addicted to the grossest sensuality; he had three sons, Artaces, the father of Tirithus; Arsaces, who succeeded him in his dominions; and Tiridates, who was the father of Gnelus. Vertannes, the great pontiff, having lived a life of the greatest holiness, and governed the church of

Armenia for a period of rather more than fifteen years, died, and, according to his desire, was buried in the village of Thordan. He was succeeded in the pontifical chair by his youngest son Husik. This individual, during the life of Vertannes, had married, and was the father of two sons named Pap and Athanageney. For a long time previous to the death of the late pontiff, Husik had secluded himself from the world, leading a life of the severest mortifications. He was universally admired for the intimate acquaintance he had with the holy scriptures; and the fame of his sanctity was so great, that at the death of his father he was unanimously appointed his successor. About this time Julian the apostate began to rule the eastern Romans, and marched at the head of a large force from Constantinople against the Persians; the latter, on the approach of the emperor to the Euphrates, destroyed the bridges which had been constructed over that river, and thereby hindered the advance of the army of their enemies. At this conjuncture Julian wrote to Tiran the Armenian king, to render him assistance. The latter, unmindful of the treaty which he had made with Shapuh, attacked the Persians, and completely routed them. He then re-established the bridges, and thus afforded Julian and his army an unmolested passage over the Euphrates.

A. D. 356.

A. D. 361.

Julian, on preparing to prosecute his expedition against Persia, demanded further aid from Tiran, who furnished him with the southern division of the Armenian troops, under the command of Zura, chief of the Rushtunians. To convince the emperor of his good faith, he gave into his hands as hostages, Tiridates, his third son, with the wife and children of the latter, and the only child of Artaces his own eldest son, who was lately deceased. The king retained by him his second son, Arsaces, to succeed him on the throne. Julian, on receiving the hostages, dispatched them to Constantinople. He gave Tiran, as a mark of his favour and esteem, his own abominable portrait, which bore a great resemblance to his diabolical features. He requested Tiran to place his present on the eastern side of one of the churches, in the Armenian metropolis. Tiran was in the act of hanging this picture with his own hands in a church of the province of Zophs, when Husik the pontiff, arrived there and exhorted him to desist from so horrible an abomination. The king however persisted in his design, when the holy saint, unable any longer to restrain his indignation, snatched the picture from his hands, and throwing it on the ground, trampled it to pieces. Tiran, fearing that Julian would attribute this to disrespect on his part, and that

he should, consequently, be visited with the emperor's vengeance, in a fit of violent rage, caused Husik to be seized and scourged so severely that he expired under the punishment. His pontificate lasted six years. His remains were interred near those of his father in the village of Thordan.

In the room of the blessed Saint, whose cruel death had left vacant the pontifical chair, the Armenians appointed an old man named Daniel, a Syrian, and disciple of St. Gregory, by whom he had been consecrated priest. His sway lasted but a very short time, for having thought proper to admonish the king on the unjust death of Husik, he was ordered to be strangled. This being done, the body of the unfortunate Daniel was taken to the convent to which he had formerly belonged, called the Garden of Hazies, and there buried. The Armenians then wished to appoint a descendant of the Illuminator to the important office of pontiff: none, however, of that family was found fit for the station. Husik had indeed left two sons, Pap and Athanagheney, but both were addicted to vicious habits. So great, however, was the veneration of the people for the memory of St. Gregory, that they hoped for a change in the conduct of his two unworthy descendants, and therefore for some time kept the pontificate vacant. Having, as a probationary

step, caused them to be consecrated deacons, the Armenians saw then that their reformation was hopeless, for they became more and more irregular, until they were punished for their impiety, and neglect of the duties they owed themselves and family, by a visitation of the anger of the Almighty, who caused them to be consumed by fire from heaven. Athanageney left one son, named Nierses, who proved highly worthy of his descent from the good St. Gregory. He was sent into Cesarea at a very early age, and there carefully instructed in the fear of the Lord. He made a rapid progress in Greek literature, and having at a more advanced age gone to Constantinople, he there still more improved his mind. It was at this city that he married the daughter of a great prince named Aspiones. On the death of his father and uncle, the Armenians invited him to return amongst them; but in consequence of delay in complying with their desires they did not appoint him to succeed Daniel as pontiff of their church.

A. D. 362. This dignity was conferred on Pharnerseh or Pharen, a priest from the convent of St. Johannes Carapiet, in the city of Ashtishat. News of the violences committed by Tiran on the church, in the two before mentioned instances, reaching the ears of Zura, who accompanied Julian in his expedition, it gave him infinite pain. He

determined to separate himself from the Roman troops, and being much beloved by the Armenian soldiery, he drew off the whole of his division, and retired with it to the province of Timoris, there to await the result of those actions of the king, which had induced him to adopt the measure he had pursued. Julian, highly incensed at this defection of his Armenian auxiliaries, wrote to Tiran, and after informing him of the event, gave his advice as to the steps the latter ought to pursue, saying, "if Zura has acted thus without your knowledge, you should destroy him and all his race." The king, following this cruel recommendation, succeeded in drawing Zura into his power, after pledging him an oath for his safety; and then massacred him with all his family, excepting his nephew, a youth of about twenty years of age, who is supposed to be the individual known by the name of Dirastamatin. Tiran then appointed Salamut prince of the province of Anzta, to succeed Zura in the command of the southern division. On the death of Julian the apostate, Valentinian, who succeeded him as emperor, proposed peace to the Persians. Shapuh, not liking the terms, recommenced hostilities, and marched towards Greece. On approaching the frontiers of Armenia, he recollected the injury he had sustained from Tiran on the first expedition of

A. D. 363.

Julian, and determined to take revenge. Disguising his real intentions, he invited Tiran to a friendly conference. and on their meeting in the village of Anzukh, in the province of Apahunies, he upbraided him with his former treachery, and springing upon him, plucked out his eyes. The Persian monarch immediately after ordered him to retire to the village of Coash, near the foot of Mount Aragaz, there to spend the remainder of his miserable existence. Shapuh then appointed Arsaces, the son of Tiran, to reign over the Armenians; and having received hostages from the chiefs, pursued his march. Shapuh, not being able to effect much in that country, then laid waste the coasts of the Mediterranean; but being at length encountered by the Greeks, he was totally defeated. He then returned to Persia and commenced a horrid persecution of the Christians in his dominions, many of whom he martyred. An instance is related of his having put to death at one time the general, St. Sarkies, with St. Martirose, the son of the latter, and fourteen soldiers.*

* Book II, c. 44.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The reign of Arsaces the Second, and the pontificate of Nierses the First.

ARSACES the Second, son of Tiran the Second, ascended the throne of Armenia under the auspices of the king of Persia. This prince, instead of studying the welfare of his subjects, and improving his kingdom, was no sooner in possession of the crown, than he began a career of vice and licentiousness. In the second year of his reign, Pharnerseh the pontiff died, having held that dignity for the short period of three years. It will be recollected, that we stated in our last chapter, that the Armenians had invited Nierses, one of the posterity of St. Gregory, then residing at Constantinople, to return to Armenia, with the ultimate view of nominating him to the pontifical chair. For some reasons he had delayed accepting the invitation at that period, and now, upon the death of Pharnerseh, it was renewed. Complying with the people's wishes, he hastened into Armenia, where he was invested

A. D. 363.

A. D. 364.

with the pontifical dignity. It is related, that on his first admission into the church as a priest, in Cesarea, the grace of the Holy Ghost appeared resting over him like a dove. Immediately after he had assumed the government of the Armenian church he introduced into it various regulations, which he had seen in use at Constantinople, and renewed the ancient and valuable ceremonies, which, in the preceding pontificates, had been permitted to fall into disuse, inlaying, as the old records have it, the new observances
A. D. 365. into the old, like precious stones. Many irregularities having also crept into the forms of public worship, he convened a large meeting in the city of Ashtishat, where every thing objectionable was condemned and expunged, and the whole established on a new and sound footing.* He erected convents to the number of 2,000, and appointed, as superintendents over them, Shalita, a good and just man, the disciple of St. Daniel, with Epiphan, Ephraim and Gind Silcuney, all of them worthy servants of our Lord and Redeemer. He also built asylums for widows and orphans, inns for the accommodation of strangers, with numerous hospitals and almshouses, for the support of which the cities and villages were charged. Over these establishments be placed governors, and the whole were put under the

* See Hist. B. II, c. 44.

immediate superintendence of his deacon, whose name was Khad, a native of the village of Margo, in the province of Carin. The holy St. Nierses himself was unremittingly employed in furthering the welfare of his church, the whole of his time being taken up in visiting the cities, villages, churches, convents, and hermitages, throughout the kingdom. King Arsaces, and the nobles of A. D. 366. Armenia, having observed the zeal of their holy pontiff, convened a meeting, in which they determined to constitute him high pontiff of their religion, anxious to reward him by this high title, though it gave him no more power than he had before. From this period the pontificate of Armenia, which had been created by St. Silvester, for St. Gregory, became entirely unconnected with other christian churches. The head of it was deemed by the nation supreme in all spiritual concerns, and no longer obliged to receive consecration at Cesarea, that ceremony being performed thenceforward by the Armenian bishops.

In this year the emperor Valentinian sent ambassadors to Arsaces, to prevail upon him to renounce obedience to the Persians, and to place his kingdom under the protection of the Greeks. Arsaces despised the exhortations of the ambassadors, and drove them away from his court with disgrace. He determined to rule his kingdom

independent of every power; and from that period ceased paying tribute to both Greeks and Persians. He then delivered himself up to the indulgence of pleasure. On the return of his embassy, Valentinian, exasperated at the behaviour of Arsaces, seized his brother Tiridates, then, as it will be recollected, an hostage at Constantinople, and put him to death. He also ordered his general Theodosius to march with a large army into Armenia, and revenge the insult that had been offered him, by subduing the whole country. Alarmed at the news of this intended invasion, Arsaces applied to St. Nierses for assistance in arresting the progress of the storm about to descend on him and his kingdom. The saint thereupon, accompanied by several holy and eminent persons, went to meet Theodosius, whom he persuaded to suspend hostilities until he should receive further orders from the emperor. Nierses then proceeding to Constantinople, obtained an interview with Valentinian, and succeeded in appeasing him. The latter was much pleased with the saint, who had conversed with him on various subjects with equal ability; and the emperor honoured him with great respect. On the departure of Nierses from Constantinople the hostages of Arsaces family were delivered up to him. These were, Tirithus, the grandson of Tiran, and the

family of the deceased Tiridates, whom the emperor had put to death on the first impulse of his rage. Valentinian gave in marriage to Arsaces, whose wife was lately dead, a young virgin named Olympias, connected with the imperial family. With the whole of these Nierses returned to Armenia. The emperor, previous to the departure of the saint from Constantinople, to shew his sorrow for the hasty order he had given for the death of Tiridates, bestowed great favours on young Gnelus, the son of the deceased. He appointed him to the dignity of consul, and gave him immense treasures. These marks of favour excited the envy of Tirithus, which, however, he suppressed until a fit opportunity should occur to gratify it. Gnelus, on his return to Armenia, hastened to pay a visit to his grandfather, the blind Tiran, who was still alive in the village of Coash, and related to him all the above incidents, with which the old man was unacquainted. When Tiran heard of the tragical end of Tiridates, he became exceedingly grieved: "Ah!" exclaimed he, "I am the cause of his death, for I yielded him as an hostage to Julian, and I am now justly punished for it with blindness!" Tiran bestowed the whole of his personal property on his grandson Gnelus, consisting of various villages and buildings, and desired him to remain with

A. D. 367. him in the village of Coash. Gnelus gratified his grandfather's desire, and shortly after married Pharanzem, the daughter of Andovk, the chief of the Seunies. The marriage was celebrated with the greatest splendour, and the bridegroom was prodigal of his gifts to all the chiefs and other guests assembled on the occasion, by which he became extremely popular in that part of the country. It was customary in Armenia, on the marriage of the king, or of any member of the royal family, for the nobles to place their sons as pages in the court of the palace. On the occasion of the marriage of Gnelus the custom was observed, and the children of the chiefs, who assisted in this manner to give pomp to the festival, were adorned by him with the richest vestments, so that they outshone even those in attendance on the king. By the splendour of his presents to the pages who attended him, Gnelus rose still higher in the estimation and favour of the chiefs. Tirithus, who, as we before stated, regarded Gnelus with no friendly eye, to gratify his malignity, associated with himself a miscreant named Vardan Mameconian, and going to the king, acquainted him with the trifling circumstance we have related above, charging his relation with having a design on the crown, all which was religiously sworn to by the wretch Vardan. The

king, giving credit to the tale, banished his innocent nephew from Ararat. Gnelus took refuge in the province of Arberaney, whence he removed to Aliovit, and finally took up his residence in the royal city of Zarishat. Tiran, seeing this A. D. 368. unjust persecution of his unoffending grandson, sent a message to Arsaces, severely reprehending him for it. Upon which the unnatural king was so incensed, that he sent private directions to the chamberlains of his father, to strangle him. Having executed the barbarous order, they buried him in the village where he had lived.

Some short time after this tragical event, Arsaces was hunting in the country surrounding Mount Ararat, which is not far from Zalcote, and was so much elated by the sport, and the number of animals with which the mountain abounds, that he declared none of his predecessors had enjoyed the diversion in such perfection as himself. Tirithus, and his minion Vardan, who were in the number of his attendants, and who still sought to injure Gnelus, informed the king that his nephew had a greater number and variety of beasts on a mountain near Shahapivan, in the province of Zalcote, and possessed a more extraordinary way of hunting them, than any king of Armenia ever had. This excited the jealousy of Arsaces,

who, with a secret design of killing Gnelus, wrote to him to meet him on the mountain above mentioned, in order that they might hunt together. Immediately after the dispatch of his letter, the king set out for the appointed spot, in hopes of coming upon his nephew unprepared; in which event he might easily gratify his cruel disposition. On his arrival, his envy was excited to the highest possible degree by seeing the beauty of the fields, the abundance of game, and the splendid preparations that Gnelus's servants were making for the hunting match. Arsaces, then privately directed the envious and malignant Vardan to shoot Gnelus as if undesignedly, with an arrow, during the chase. Following the order he had received, the miscreant shot the unfortunate leader of the hunt in the back. He dropped from his horse and immediately expired. On the completion of their abominable project, Arsaces, Tirithus, and the detestable instrument of their crime, began to lament and express every external mark of sorrow for the unfortunate accident, as it was termed. They removed the body to Zarishat, where it was interred with solemn pomp. The real circumstances, however, soon became known, and reaching the ears
A. D. 369. of Nierses, he pronounced an anathema upon the whole three, and put on mourning for

the deceased. The king, far from shewing contrition for his crime, aggravated it by marrying Pharanzem, the wife of the murdered Gnelus, although his queen Olympias was still in existence. This Pharanzem was a woman of great personal beauty, but one whose soul was defaced by every base passion that could render a human creature detestable. Shortly after her connection with Arsaces commenced, she succeeded in destroying the queen Olympias, by poison, administered by a vile priest at the awful time of receiving the sacrament. After this she caused Valinak Seuney, the general of the eastern division of the army, to be assassinated, and procured her father Andovk, chief of the Seunies, to be appointed in his room. She also obtained for the latter the government of the city of Tigranakert. Nierses the pontiff, observing these dreadful events, quitted the city of Valarshapat, and retired to a convent, where he lived in the greatest seclusion.

CHAPTER XIX.

The taking of Tigranakert by Shapuh.

THE desertion of Arsaces from the Persians to the emperor, had been observed with no little anger by Shapuh; but as he was, at the time when A. D. 370.

that event occurred, engaged in incessant wars with the people of the north, he had no leisure for the consideration of his affairs in Armenia. At length, having made peace with all his enemies, he prepared to chastise Arsaces, with the more remote view of proceeding also against
A. D. 371. the Greeks. Arsaces, on being made acquainted with the hostile intentions of the king of Persia, sent Tirithus and Vardan to him with large presents, to appease him and make a treaty of peace. Shapuh, having accepted the terms, invited the Armenian monarch to accompany him in his expedition against the Greeks. Arsaces, however, suspected the good faith of Shapuh, and declined going with him, but sent to the Persian army a detachment of Armenian troops. The king having good reasons for believing that Tirithus and Vardan had misrepresented him to Shapuh, summoned them to his presence, and reprimanded them severely. He then took away all their appointments. Bitterly stung by this treatment, they set out to join the Persian army, but Arsaces having heard of their motions, despatched Vasak, the brother of Vardan, with a strong force, to seize and put them to death. The latter soon overtook, and killed both of them. Thus miserably perished two of the greatest ruffians that stain the annals of Arme-
A. D. 372. nian history. Shapuh, in his advance against the Greeks, had to pass the city of Tigranakert.

Being arrived at this place, he wished to enter, to provide provisions for his army. The governor, Andovk, however, shut the gates against him. Shapuh then sent messengers to him, saying, "Why do you close the gates of Tigranakert against me? I come not with hostile intent, for I am a friend to the Armenians!" But Andovk treated the messengers with contempt, and drove them back with disgrace. He then prepared to defend the city against the Persians, who made some fruitless attempts to take it. Having no time to lose in laying a regular siege to it, Shapuh continued his march towards Greece, after sending a letter to the inhabitants of Tigranakert, wherein he said, "By your resisting me you have given an example to other people to act in like manner; but when I return I will give your city a severe lesson, the recollection of which shall operate as a terror on all others." Shapuh having concluded his war with the Greeks, returned and laid siege to Tigranakert, after sending to Nisibis his Armenian auxiliaries. The people of this city, instead of making overtures of peace to the Persian king, mounted the walls, and scoffed at his army. "Have you not," said they, "had sufficient experience? Do you wish for a second failure?" One of the inhabitants, more bold and daring than the rest, cried out,

"Go away from us, Shapuh! If you do not, many evils will attend you and your troops, more severe than those you formerly experienced from us!" Shapuh replied to these taunts in this manner, "Do you presume to call yourselves Armenian soldiers? You speak in a very brave style, but act the part of cowards. The brave never hide themselves behind walls, and in security revile their foes! No! they contend courageously in the open field. You act like women, whose principal weapons are their tongues!" The citizens continued to return answers of a similarly contemptuous nature. Shapuh, on this, feeling incensed, called the Grecian captives then with him, and told them that if they would fight with courage and good will with his army during the siege of the city, he would set them all at liberty, and bestow on them large rewards on its reduction. The prisoners were exceedingly glad at the offer, accepted it with eagerness, and desired to be immediately led to the storm. Shapuh, then commanded his Persian troops to surround the walls, and commence discharging missiles at the men stationed on the battlements. He placed in the hands of his Greek prisoners combustibles of various descriptions, to set fire to the city, and stationed them near the battlements, with many huge wheeled machines,

called asses, built in the form of chests, with covers of extraordinary thickness, drawn by three persons, and used in the following way. They were brought close under the walls, and, from their peculiar construction, there was a sufficient empty space beneath them to hold several men, who, secured from harm by the cover above, could undermine the battlements at their ease. When many of these are joined together they afford shelter and protection to a body of men, whose operations rarely fail in destroying the strongest fortifications. The Greek prisoners having drawn forward these formidable engines, or moveable batteries, if we may so call them, with their instruments commenced undermining the walls of Tigranakert. Great, however, was the labour required to move the tremendous foundation stones, laid there by Tigranes the Great. When the Armenians saw these operations from the battlements, they divided their forces into parts; one of which was employed in galling the Persians with their arrows, the other in annoying the miners below, by rolling stones down upon them. But the latter were in perfect security from the bulwark their machines afforded them above, the stones making no impression upon them. Shapuh, observing that already one side of the battlement was shaking, and the other sides

ready to fall, ordered the trumpets to sound a general assault. The besiegers then running forward, cast showers of spears, stones, and arrows from all sides, upon the Armenians on the battlements. The Greeks darted their combustibles into the city, which, in a short time, was in flames. The inhabitants, in a state of consternation, knew not what to do; many were wounded and fell; others continued to fight undauntedly. At last two sides of the battlement fell with a horrible crash; at the same moment breaches were made in other parts. The besiegers then rushed in, a massacre of the inhabitants ensued, and many of the Persians falling in the assault, the blood of the killed inundated the streets, giving them the appearance of what they would exhibit after a hard rain. In the meanwhile the Greeks were employed in throwing their combustibles, and a terrible conflagration of all the buildings took place. Dreadful were the screams and lamentations heard on all sides from the children and women, who were butchered indiscriminately by the infuriated assailants. Those who escaped the fire fell by the sword; and those who had taken refuge in their houses from the fury of the soldiers perished by the fire. The governor Andovk was burnt to death in his house. Shapuh, seeing the city almost destroyed, and but few of

the inhabitants surviving, ordered his troops to cease from slaughter. Those of the citizens that escaped death during the storm he took with him as prisoners, and ordered that henceforward the tribe of the Seunies should remain without a chief, as Andovk, their late head, had held out the city against him. After having caused the Armenian troops, which he had sent to Nisibis before the siege, to rejoin him, he quitted the country. Gnelus, chief of the Anzevazies, was appointed general of the eastern division of the Armenian army in the room of Andovk.

CHAPTER XX.

The destruction of Arshacavan and the cruelty of Arsaces.

On the reconciliation of Arsaces with Shapuh, and the march of the latter into Greece, the former began to build a city on that part of Mount Ararat which is in the province of Kog. Having finished it he called it Arshacavan. Desiring to people it as quickly as possible, he directed it to be proclaimed, that all who would take up their habitation in his new city should be free from the arm of justice, and should not be amenable to any tribunal for any crime. On this being publicly known, the city was soon stocked A. D. 370.

with debtors, murderers, robbers, and every description of bad and dishonest characters. In a short time they became extremely numerous, yet no notice was taken of their actions, however
A. D. 373. flagitious they were. The Armenian chiefs were sadly annoyed by the existence of this nest of miscreants, their servants plundering them, and then fleeing thither, secure from the arm of the law. They applied repeatedly to the sovereign to annul the privileges of the inhabitants of Arshacavan, but he was deaf to all their representations. Having heard that Shapuh had returned from the campaign against the Greeks, being aware of his intention to besiege Tigranakert, although unacquainted with the fate of that city, the Armenian chiefs deputed a few from their number to wait on that monarch, with letters, acquainting him with the subject of all their grievances, and praying him to join with them to demolish the newly built city of Arshacavan, and to take vengeance on Arsaces; in the event of which they offered to perform any service for him. On the arrival of the deputies at Tigranakert they were astonished to see it in such ruin. They, however, immediately proceeded to the tent of the Persian king, and delivered him their letters. Shapuh was extremely glad, when he discovered the object of their mission, and when the Armenian troops,

which he had separated from his army during the siege of Tigranakert, and for which he was then waiting, joined him, he detached them with a body of Persian cavalry, under the command of one of his own generals, to their aid. He also gave directions to the general commanding these troops, to act implicitly by the directions of the Armenian chiefs; he was, however, desirous that Arsaces might be taken prisoner and conveyed to Persia. Shapuh shortly after retired to Persia. When Arsaces heard of these events, he took refuge in the fortress of Ani in Upper Armenia. The Persian general, having been joined by the disaffected chiefs, proceeded thither, besieged, and captured it. The king, however, made his escape to the regions about Caucasus, where he was protected by the Georgians. When the Persian general found that the king's person was not in the fortress, he seized all the royal treasures, with the embalmed bodies of several of the former kings of Armenia, which had been kept there in vaults prepared for that purpose. With these he rejoined his master in Persia. When the chiefs heard that Arsaces had taken refuge in the country about Mount Caucasus, they marched their troops against Arshacavan, took it, and slaughtered all the inhabitants indiscriminately, with the exception of sucking babes, whom they took away captives. A. D. 374.

They were urged to this act of severity by the manner in which they had been treated by their servants. Nierses, the pontiff, having heard of this event, left his retirement, immediately went to the irritated chiefs, and taking the babes from their hands, conveyed the latter to a town in the neighbourhood of Arshacavan, where he provided nurses to take care of them. These children were well brought up, and on their attaining maturity, went under the name of Vines; because, according to some, they were carried by their captors from their birth place, in baskets made of vine leaves. According to others, the name had its origin from Vines, the name of the village in which they were brought up. Nierses caused the bodies of the kings of Armenia, which we mentioned before, as having been borne off from the fortress of Ani by the Persian general, to be restored to the nation, and he interred them in a village named Alzc at the foot of Mount Aragaz.

A. D. 375. Intelligence of the destruction of Arshacavan being brought to Arsaces, he became furious with rage. He forthwith assembled a few Georgian troops, with which he entered Armenia, and during a period of twelve months, wandered about the kingdom seeking reinforcements. He at length obtained a few Armenian troops, when he deemed himself

sufficiently strong to subdue the rebel chiefs. Nerseh the Camsaracan, at the head of the party against the king, on receiving notice of the latter's determination to bring the quarrel to a speedy issue, united all the forces of his colleagues, and marched against the royal army. The opposing troops soon met, and a well contested battle ensued; many fell on each side, yet neither party proved victorious. The next day both armies retreated from the scene of the combat to recruit. While they were in this A. D. 377. state, and preparing for a second conflict, a body of Grecian troops, under the command of Theodosius, made its appearance on the frontiers of Armenia, the cause of which was as follows: Valens, the successor and brother of the emperor Valentinian, had been informed that the Armenians had assisted the Persians, when the latter, under the command of Shapuh, undertook an expedition against the empire. He also was aware that Arsaces had furnished a body of troops to the Persian monarch. On this account he had issued orders to his general Theodosius to invade Armenia, and ravage the country. Arsaces, on seeing himself surrounded by his foes, having on his right and left his insurgent chiefs, and in front the troops of the emperor, was in an agony of distress; and having scarcely any other means of preserving himself

from utter destruction, he sent messengers to Nierses the pontiff, entreating him to assist him to pacify his chiefs, and save him from the hands of the emperor. The blessed saint, however, was averse to interfere. "If," says he, "he obtain peace, he will again fill the country with distress." The king, however, reiterated his entreaty, so that, at length, the pontiff consented to be the mediator between them. Having waited on the chiefs, he succeeded in making them desist from further hostility against the king, and caused both parties to make this covenant; "that the king should from that period employ himself in regulating and improving the country, and that the chiefs should pay him allegiance and due honour." Merujan, chief of the Arzrunians, and his brother-in-law, Vahan the Mameconian, refused to make any concession; and when they found that Arsaces and the other chiefs were reconciled, they went to Persia, where they abjured their faith. St. Nierses, immediately after peace was restored between the king and his subjects, went to Theodosius the Grecian general, and entreated him to desist from his intention of ravaging the country; promised him that tribute should be paid, and hostages given from the sons of the chiefs, with Pap the son of Arsaces, to secure the further obedience of the Armenian nation. Theodosius

was a man distinguished for extraordinary suavity, virtue, and piety, and could not resist the entreaties of Nierses. He therefore agreed to the latter's proposals, and having received the tribute and hostages, with a letter which Arsaces wrote on the occasion to Valens the emperor, he prepared to return to Constantinople. Theodosius earnestly begged the holy man to accompany him; the latter, after some hesitation, consented, and they commenced their journey. Nierses appointed his deacon, Khad, whom he had lately consecrated bishop of Bagrevand and Arsarunians, to preside over the church during his absence. On the arrival of the general and the saint at the court of the emperor, the former communicated the peace he had concluded with the Armenians, and presented the letter of Arsaces. But Valens was extremely angry when he learned the line of conduct which Theodosius had adopted, and refused to see the holy Nierses, whom he immediately sent into banishment. The Armenian hostages he ordered to be put to death. Theodosius supplicated the emperor to recal his cruel orders; and prevailed upon him so far as to obtain the lives of the prisoners; but nothing that he could urge in behalf of St. Nierses, had the least effect on Valens. The blessed saint was, forthwith, put on board ship, to proceed to the spot appointed for his exile. It was the winter A. D. 378.

season, and the ship had not proceeded far when a violent storm arose, which cast them away on a desert island. Although the vessel went to pieces on her striking the land, yet the holy Nierses and the crew succeeded in getting safe ashore. They found the island extremely barren, affording no nourishment fit for man. They were obliged from hunger, at first to eat the roots of the trees which grew there; but by the providence of God, in a short time, the sea threw her fishes upon the dry land in such abundance that for eight months, during which they resided there, they never were in want. When the intelligence of the banishment of Nierses reached Armenia, the king being then free from his enemies, broke the covenant he had so solemnly made with his chiefs in the moment of his distress; and sought to revenge on them the mortifications their former opposition had occasioned him. Some he succeeded in killing by stratagem; the race of the Camsaracans was almost annihilated by his treacherous conduct. He invited the whole of this tribe to the city of Armavir, whither they repaired without the least suspicion of the fate that awaited them. When they arrived, the ruthless Arsaces caused every individual of them to be butchered, man, woman, and child! It happened, however, that one member of the Camsaracans escaped the

fate of his tribe. He had not accompanied the rest when they set out on the invitation of the king. His name was Spandarat, the son of Arshavir, and brother of Nerseh. He was married to a descendant of the Arsacidæ, and at the period of the bloody massacre of his race, was residing at Hashtens with his family. When he heard of this dreadful event, he took his wife and two sons, Shavarsh and Gazavon, with the rest of his family, and fled into Greece. The holy Khad, then the officiating patriarch, admonished Arsaces for his cruelty, which irritating the king, he ordered him to be immediately stoned. On the agents of the king proceeding to execute this order, the brothers of Khad's daughter's husband, who were present, interfered and prevented them. These relations of Khad were men of great bodily strength, of the race of the Apahunians. On the creatures of Arsaces again attempting to execute the cruel mandate they had received, Khad's friends attacked them sword in hand, mortally wounded them, and rescued the holy bishop, with whom they retired to their province. Arsaces durst not follow them thither, fearing that they might be joined by other chiefs, and thus create a dangerous rebellion. He therefore tried to take off Khad by his old method, treachery. He called his chief eunuch, who was

entirely devoted to him, and gave him private instructions to assassinate the blessed bishop. This coming to the knowledge of Shavasp the Arzrunian, he invited the eunuch to accompany him in a hunting excursion, when he prevented the execution of the wretch's designs by killing
A. D. 379. him. About this time Valens died, and Theodosius the Great was elevated to the imperial throne. The latter immediately ordered the release of all the holy fathers, whom his predecessor had sent into exile. Nierses consequently obtained his liberty. The emperor was so much attached to him that he retained him at his court for two years, at the end of which period the great council of Constantinople took place. Nierses assisted at it, and when it terminated, he returned into Armenia.

CHAPTER XXI.

The abandonment and captivity of Arsaces; and the almost total destruction of the kingdom of Armenia by the treachery of Merujan.

A. D. 379. SHAPUH, at this time, encouraged by the recent events in Armenia, and perhaps secretly instigated by the chiefs of that country, sent a large army against Arsaces, headed by a Pahlavie of great skill and courage, named Alanozan.

The Armenian monarch, without allies, and hated by his chiefs, saw that he had no other means of safety than flight. He retired therefore to a fortress on a hill, where his enemies could not approach him. The Armenian chiefs, on the first appearance of the invaders, joined their ranks; and on the flight of the king, pursued him to the spot in which he had taken refuge, blocking up every pass by which he could have escaped. Arsaces, observing this, became dreadfully agitated, and sent a secret message to Alanozan the Persian general, saying, "art thou not of the same tribe as myself, a Pahlavie? Thou brave Arsacian! Why dost thou thus hem me about to take me prisoner? Give me but the means of passing into Greece, and behold I resign to thee the crown and sceptre of Armenia!" Alanozan paying no attention to this, Arsaces came to the determination of delivering himself up to him, with the ultimate view of going to Shapuh. He obliged, however, the Pahlavie first to swear that he would commit no violence on him. This being done, Arsaces went over to the camp of his enemies, and surrendered himself. Many of the chiefs, on beholding the fallen condition of their monarch, could not help commiserating him. Some of them determined to accompany him to Shapuh, among whom were Vasak the Mamiconian, and

Dirastamatin, the steward of the royal household. With the whole of these Alanozan returned to Persia. On their arrival, Shapuh directed every possible honour and respect to be paid to them, and appointed them a palace for their residence. The Persian monarch then obliged Arsaces to write to Pharanzem, his queen, to join him in Persia. He also sent a detachment of troops to Armenia, with an order to the chiefs and nobles, directing them to proceed with their queen to the Persian capital. The chiefs were much alarmed at this unexpected command, and sent to Shapuh begging that they might be permitted to remain in their own country. Shapuh remaining inflexible, they became exasperated, and furiously attacking the troops he had sent for their escort, put them to flight. They then quitted Armenia, and retired into different countries. One of them, Varazdat, an Arsacian, went to Constantinople; and was appointed to a situation in the imperial palace. Queen Pharanzem also, having collected immense treasures from the royal palaces, retired in company with Mushel, a Mamiconian, to the strong fortress of Artagers, in Araxazor, which had been recently repaired and strengthened by Arsaces. From this retreat she wrote to prince Pap, then, it will be remembered, a hostage at Constantinople, and urged him to en-

deavour, by means of Nierses and the Greek chiefs, to obtain the restoration of the almost ruined kingdom of his father. "If this be hopless," says she, "at least do something to endeavour to save me from falling into the hands of Shapuh." When the Persian monarch A. D. 380. came to the knowledge of these events, he was extremely angry, and forthwith caused Arsaces to be seized, loaded with chains, and transported to Khujastan, and there placed in the castle of Oblivion; so called because all who were once placed there were never more heard of. Their names even were forbidden to be mentioned, on pain of partaking of their fate. Shapuh, after this, sent another army into Armenia, headed by the two apostates, Merujan the Arzrunian, and Vahan the Mamiconian, of whom we before made some mention. On their entering the country, they found it in a most deplorable state of anarchy. The laws were not regarded, neither was there any kind of authority acknowledged. They proceeded on to the castle of Artagers, where queen Pharanzem had sought protection, and laid siege to it; but after several attacks, they found it was impregnable by arms: they therefore turned the siege into a blockade. The inhabitants, at length, finding that there was no prospect of relief from Pap, to whom the queen had written, opened the gates, and

surrendered. Every thing in the castle was given up to spoil and plunder. The inhabitants, with Pharanzem the queen, were taken into Assyria, and there, by various species of torture, compelled to abjure their faith. Some were picketted on the sharpened pegs of waggons, and thus forced to forsake a religion they venerated, and adopt one they abhorred. Those whose firmness was proof against all the wicked ingenuity of their tormentors, expired under torture; thus sealing with their blood the testimony of their attachment to christianity. Mushel escaped to Constantinople, and there related all these horrors to Nierses. Merujan and Vahan returned from Assyria again into Armenia, like two fiends, spreading destruction wherever they came. All the Jews residing in the kingdom were conveyed by them into Persia. Arsaces, finding himself in inextricable bondage, and informed of the dreadful events that had lately occurred in Armenia, was driven to despair, and seizing a sword, which the carelessness of his guards had permitted him to have, he plunged it into his breast and expired. His reign lasted eighteen years, or, according to other computations, thirty years, including the period of his exile.

Arsaces was a monarch of vitiated principles, and the sole cause of all the misery that visited

his kingdom. He was cruel, treacherous, and tyrannical; implacable in his resentment, a stranger to every virtue that can render power amiable, and devoid of every feeling that ennobles humanity.

Shapuh, some short time after, assembled a large army, and placed it under the command of Merujan the apostate, directing him to enter Armenia again, and promising him the sovereignty of it, if he succeeded in subduing the chiefs, and prevailing on the inhabitants to embrace the religion of the Persians. To assist him, in attaining this latter object, he sent with the army a number of Magi, the ministers of the Persian religion. Merujan accepted the terms, and forthwith set forward on his expedition. He entered Armenia like a raging and hungry wolf, and seizing the wives and relations of the self-exiled chiefs, he confined them in castles; in the hopes that their husbands would be induced again to come to their native country to sue for their release. He then seized the bishops and priests, and sent them all to Persia and Assyria, where many of them perished by various tortures in defence of their religion. The remainder of the christian ministers were kept in close confinement. All the books wihch he found in the country, written in the Greek character, he caused to be burnt; and

issued an order that no Armenian should learn that language. The inhabitants were only permitted to use the Persian characters in their writings. We before observed that all the books in the Armenian language were written in the Greek and Syriac characters, the Armenians having no alphabet of their own. The Syriac was used in religious writings, the Greek in scientific works, and the Persian, at this period, began to be employed in the forms and statutes of law. The Magi, accompanied by executioners, were distributed amongst the towns and villages of the kingdom, where they forced the inhabitants to forsake their religion, giving them the only alternative of instant death. The dreadful news of these enormities reaching Constantinople, St. Nierses, and all the Armenians who were about him, were plunged into the deepest sorrow: many of the chiefs who had left the country at the commencement of the persecution, came into Greece, and were well received by their christian brethren in that country. The blessed St. Nierses, after praying fervently for his persecuted country, went to Theodosius the emperor, and earnestly besought him to appoint Pap, the son of Arsaces, king of Armenia; and send him, with the remainder of the Armenian hostages at Constantinople, and a suitable force to

take possession of Armenia, by which he would prevent the further effusion of christian blood in that unhappy country. He solemnly entreated him to grant his request, if not for the sake of expelling the old enemies of the empire, the Persians, at least for the sake of preserving the christian religion from the violence which was then daily offered to it.

Theodosius, unable to withstand the supplications of the saint, invested Pap with the ensigns of royalty. He then ordered his general Terentius to collect, with all practicable speed, a large army, and march with it to Armenia, to put the prince in possession of his lawful inheritance. The emperor retained Zarmandught, the wife of Pap, with her two sons Arsaces and Valarsaces as hostages for her husband's allegiance. The Armenian chiefs, who had, until this period, avoided disputing the power of Shapuh, now joined Pap. Spandarat, the Camsaracan, the individual who had escaped the slaughter of his tribe, as related above, and Sumbat, the son of Bagarat the Bagratian chief, were amongst those who united themselves to his forces. All now prepared for the expedition into Armenia.

CHAPTER XXII.

The reign of Pap and the pontificate of Shahak.

A. D. 381. PAP, the son of Arsaces the Second, being appointed king of Armenia by the emperor Theodosius, marched to that country, accompanied by a large body of Greek troops, commanded by Terentius. Merujan, having heard of the approach of the king, fled into Persia, after leaving orders with the governors of the castles in which the wives of the chiefs were confined, to hang their prisoners upon the battlements, in derision of their husbands. He also forbade the removal of their bodies, but directed that they should remain there until they were devoured by the birds of the air, or become so putrid as to fall to pieces. The chiefs perceiving this, first attacked these castles, and having reduced them, put the garrisons to the sword, when they took the corpses of the women and gave them christian burial. There were a few individuals who had been kept in irons, and who had escaped the fate of the women: these were released and sent to their native places. Some time previous to the departure of Merujan from Armenia, he dispatched letters to Shapuh, who

was then in the province of Khorasan, to acquaint him with the appointment of Pap to the crown of Armenia by the emperor Theodosius, and of the arrival in that country of the Grecian force which the latter had sent with the young prince to secure the throne. Shortly after, he again wrote to the Persian king, informing him that the Grecian general had entirely expelled the Persians from Armenia. On the receipt of this last communication, Shapuh became exceedingly angry, and dispatched a messenger to his son Artashir, directing him to assemble, without delay, the whole force of Persia, together with troops from the Ghecs, Aluans, and all the other nations that acknowledged his sway. These were all placed under the command of Merujan, whom the Persian monarch ordered to advance with the greatest expedition, and give battle to the Greek and Armenian forces. When Pap and Terentius heard this, they applied to the emperor for more troops. Theodosius immediately issued orders to Addeus, one of his principal officers, to collect all the power of Greece, with the various engines of war then in use, and march to the assistance of Pap. This was quickly done, and a junction being formed between Terentius and Addeus, the whole body marched to the neighbourhood of Mount Nepat, and encamped on an extensive plain. The Persians advanced to this place, and

pitched their tents exactly opposite to those of the combined armies. Terentius had previously directed Georgianus, who commanded the infantry to form a bulwark round the Grecian and Armenian camp with the shields of his men. This being done, he posted his troops in the best way possible to prevent a surprise; the bucklers on all sides presenting a formidable rampart. The allied troops made a splendid show, from the profusion of gold and silver ornaments with which they and their horses were decorated. The armour of the Grecian soldiers was of leather, with gold embroidery, and so tough as to be impenetrable to arrow or lance.

The appearance of the Persian army was no less splendid. The armour used by that nation was of brass and iron. The Ghecs and Aluans, headed by their respective kings, and clad in their peculiar war-costume, rendered the whole a very imposing spectacle. The hostile armies regarded each other with feelings of the greatest rage, hardly able to repress their desire for an immediate attack. At sun-rise, on the day after the Persians came in sight of the Armenian and Grecian forces, the commanders of the respective armies marshalled their men in order of battle. The enemy were astonished at the brilliant reflection from the shields and embroidered armour of the Greek troops, caused by the latter being to the westward

of their opponents. This, however, was a disadvantage, for the sun, darting his rays in the faces of the combined Armenian and Greek troops, dazzled them, so that they could not see distinctly. Saint Nierses, who had accompanied his countrymen, now ascended to the top of Mount Nepat, and falling on his knees, lifted up his hands, and prayed that victory might attend the followers of the cross.

This was agreed upon as the signal for the Greeks and Armenians to charge. The two armies were quickly engaged, and in their meeting seemed like two mountains of equal bulk striving against each other: the war-cries of the combatants, and the clash of their weapons and armour rent the sky. At this moment the favour of the Almighty was manifested in an extraordinary way: the Armenians and Greeks were much incommoded by the sun, which beamed fiercely upon them, when on a sudden a thick cloud intervened and quite obscured his rays. A strong wind then arose, which blew with such force against the Persians, that their arrows were driven back against themselves; the favoured army now rushed to the conflict with redoubled confidence, and were met with equal courage. The Persians fought most undauntedly, and for some time there was no perceptible advantage obtained by either side.

The noise and uproar increased, and torrents of blood deluged the field. The favourable wind, we mentioned before, still continued to blow with increased violence, animating the one side by the certainty of divine aid, and throwing confusion into the ranks of the other. Shergir, king of the Ghecs, a very powerful man, at the head of his troops, fought bravely for some time on the spot where he had first taken up his ground, animating his men by voice and gesture: having succeeded in repulsing the Armenians opposed to him, he advanced, surrounded by his troops, and encircled by their shields. At this moment the Camsaracan Spandarat charged this division of the Persian army, and breaking through the thick array of arms and men, came up to Shergir, and with a blow of his sword brought him to the ground. He then turned on the troops of the fallen king, and put the whole of them to flight. They were encountered in their retreat by the Greeks, and almost all killed. Mushel, the Mamiconian, performed many gallant exploits in this battle; he attacked and slew Caren, a Persian general of great reputation in arms; and at the head of a body of cavalry charged and dispersed the Aluans, whose king, Jurnoir, was wounded by him, and narrowly escaped becoming his prisoner. Sumbat, an Armenian general, also distinguished himself against

that body of the enemy where Merujan was stationed: he succeeded in turning the left wing of the Persian army, and continued, until the end of the fight, to harrass them without intermission, destroying numbers with his own hand. The Persians at length abandoned the field in the utmost confusion, leaving many thousands of their slain on the field.

In a charge which Sumbat made on the troops, about the person of the apostate Merujan, the horse of the latter was wounded, so that the miscreant was unable to quit the field with the same speed as the rest of the fugitives. Sumbat, observing this, pursued him with the utmost ardour, and overtook him at the edge of the thickets of Cagaiovit. The gallant general charged the apostate's followers, and after a severe conflict succeeded in taking him prisoner. He tied his hands behind him, and at first intended to carry him to the allied camp, but reflecting that St. Nierses, who was there, might probably set him at liberty, he changed his design. Looking around, he observed at a short distance the tents of the inhabitants of Cagaiovit, and a large fire near them. He approached the spot, and found a great number of people gathered around this fire, before which was a spit on which they had placed some meat to be dressed. Sumbat took the meat from the

spit, and bending the latter into something like a crown in shape, put it into the fire to heat, and thus addressed the apostate, "You aspired to a crown, Merujan, with the desire of possessing that of Armenia. Now you are aware, that I, as a Bagratian noble, enjoy an hereditary right of performing the act of coronation of the Armenian monarchs. I feel it then a duty incumbent on me, to crown you at this moment king of Armenia!" The crown formed of the spit being now red hot, he took it with a pair of tongs from the fire, and placed it upon the detested head of the abominable apostate. Thus perished the wicked Merujan.

A. D. 382. Sumbat returned to the camp of his friends, and further hostilities ceased. Pap was now the undisputed possessor of the throne; and distributed gifts of great value to those who had been instrumental in procuring him the crown. He would not permit Terentius, the Grecian general, to leave Armenia, retaining him near his person and loading him with honour and riches. Addeus, the colleague of Terentius, was sent back to Greece with the troops of the emperor, after receiving rewards suitable to the distinguished services he had performed for the Armenian monarch. Immediately after this, St. Nierses convened an assembly at Valarshapat, composed of all the chiefs and princes of Armenia,

with the bishops, and other dignitaries of the church, where a solemn covenant was made, that every one would henceforward lead a life of righteousness and peace. Pap, however, was A. D. 383 one of the first who disregarded the observance of it; he gave himself up to the guidance of his passions, and vice of the worst description in a short time became his reigning principle. Nierses beheld the gradual change in the king's habits with the deepest pain, and endeavoured by every gentle means to lead his royal pupil back to the paths of virtue. The mild admonitions of the blessed saint failing to produce the effect he looked for, he assumed a higher tone of reprehension, which was so displeasing to the king, that he caused the pontiff to be secretly put to death by poison, which was effected in the village of Khakh, in the province of Ekeliaz. Thus, say the ancient records, was this most brilliant light of the church extinguished, after illuminating the pontifical throne for a period of twenty, or according to others, thirty-four years. Just before his death, the precious saint foretold many important events. He declared that after the lapse of fifty years, the pontificate should never more be possessed by the posterity of St. Gregory, and that, in aftertime, the kingdom should be troubled by the incursions of the tribes of Archers, &c. It is related, that, on this

mournful event, Shalita the Syrian, and Epiphan the Greek, disciples of old St. Daniel, who lived as hermits, the former on a mountain called Lion, the latter on a hill named the throne of Diana, formerly sacred to the heathen Gods, both beheld St. Nierses ascending with glory into heaven, surrounded by a host of angels. The sight afforded them infinite joy; and subsequently meeting, they related to each other an account of their vision. Finding that the time at which they beheld it corresponded to the period of the Saint's decease, they reported the circumstance in all parts of the kingdom. Nierses left one son, named Isaac, hereafter, as we shall see, pontiff, residing at the time of his father's death at Constantinople, where he perfected himself in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and the differ-
A. D. 384. ent sciences. Shahak, of the family of Albianus, the bishop of Harc, born in the city of Manazkert in the province of Apahunies, succeeded Nierses in the pontificate; he was a good man, eminent for every virtue, and well worthy the high office to which he was elected. He was raised to the pontifical dignity through king Pap, who, observing the general mourning throughout the nation on the death of Nierses, procured the nomination of Shahak, on account of the universal reverence and esteem in which he was held.

Pap, after the cruel murder he had perpetrated on the person of the late lamented pontiff, daily degenerated; listening to the suggestions of creatures who were unable to appreciate a good sovereign's worth, he foolishly resolved to rebel against the emperor. Uninterrupted prosperity, as with men in general, made him forget the debt he owed his benefactor. He dismissed Terentius with his troops, and hastened to collect an army in the province of Bagrevand. Terentius, leaving Armenia, dispatched information of the conduct of Pap to Theodosius, who immediately directed him to return and commence hostilities against the ungrateful monarch. The emperor also directed the troops in Cappadocia to join Terentius without delay. While the Armenian forces, assembled by Pap in the province of Bagrevand, were preparing for hostilities, they were suddenly attacked by Terentius, and after a sharp contest, in which a great number of them were slain, completely routed. During the fight, Terentius killed Gnelus, the general of the eastern division of the Armenian army, with a blow of his sword, which clove his scull. This battle was the more decisive as the defeated troops were taken by surprize. Pap, who had imagined that the Grecian general was on his return to Constantinople, having taken no measures to provide for his personal security, in the

event of a failure of his attempt to establish his independence, was taken prisoner by the victorious troops, shortly after the discomfiture of his army. The weak monarch, as abject in adversity as he was inflated in prosperity, implored Terentius in the most humble language, to spare his life. Terentius loaded him with chains and carried him to the emperor. When Theodosius saw Pap, he reproached him for his ingratitude towards himself, his cruelty to that blessed servant of God, Nierses, and his unkindness to Terentius. He then ordered him to be put to death, which was done by the blow of a sabre. Thus perished king Pap, after a short reign of three years, or, according to other accounts, of seven years.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The period between the reigns of Varazdat and Khosrove the Third; and the pontificate of Zaven and Aspurakes.

A. D. 384. VARAZDAT the Arsacian, who, at the time of the flight of the Armenian chiefs from the tyranny of Shapuh, took refuge in Greece; and who, as we have related, was appointed to a situation in the emperor's household, succeeded Pap on the throne of Armenia, by order of Theodosius. He

was but a youth at the time of his assuming the crown, yet remarkable for the possession of a dauntless mind, Herculean strength, and admirable address in the use of all the weapons employed by men, of that age, in war. He more than once bore off the prize in wrestling at the Olympic games, and in the public arena he frequently engaged and overcame alone the most furious beasts of prey, such as lions, tigers, &c.: by these exploits he became a great favourite with the Grecian populace. It is also related, that in a battle between the Greeks and Longobardians he engaged five persons at once, and slew them without receiving the smallest injury. Besieging a castle with a detachment of Grecian troops he killed, in the course of a few hours, by his skill in archery, seventeen men, who were stationed on the battlements, and was the principal cause of its speedy surrender, none of its garrison daring to appear on the walls through dread of his arrows. Having accepted the crown of Armenia, he proceeded toward the kingdom with a body of Grecian troops, amongst whom were several distinguished generals. On his arrival on the confines of Daranaghy, he discovered a band of Syrian robbers, who had for a long period infested the country. He immediately attacked them; they fled, and he pursued until the fugitives arrived on the banks of the

river Euphrates. The robbers passed over on the trunk of a large tree, which they used as a bridge, and destroyed on their reaching the opposite side, imagining that their escape was then sure. They were, however, deceived in the valour and activity of their pursuers; for Varazdat, on discovering that no boats could be procured to transport his troops to the other side, with amazing address leaped across the river, which was twenty-two cubits broad, and engaged with double ardour in the pursuit. The robbers then found further resistance unavailing, and quietly surrendered. From this he proceeded to Ararat, where he performed similar acts of valour, expelling the Persians whom he found there, and quelling a rebellion which had broken out just before his arrival.

A. D. 385, He then took possession of the kingdom in due form, and the fame of his valour and greatness spread all over Armenia. The Grecian generals who had accompanied him to Armenia desiring to controul him, he became impatient of any restraint on his independence, and determined to abjure his allegiance to the emperor. He therefore sent an embassy to Shapuh, king of Persia, saying, "If you will assist me against the Grecians I will pay you the same tribute as I am accustomed to pay the emperor." Shapuh immediately consented, and articles of peace and

alliance were drawn up between the two nations. When the Greek generals in Armenia perceived the intention of Varazdat, they immediately gave notice of it to the emperor. The latter, thereupon, directed them to summon Varazdat to proceed immediately to Constantinople, and in the event of his refusal, to bind him and bring him in chains to that city. When they communicated to Varazdat the orders they had received, he durst not refuse complying with them, not having yet received any assistance from the Persians. He, therefore, set out for Constantinople, determined stoutly to deny any of the designs attributed to him. But, on his arrival in that city, the emperor would not even deign to grant him an interview, but treated him as a rebel, putting him in chains, and banishing him to the isle of Thule, in the northern ocean. He reigned about two, or according to some, four years. The emperor, Theodosius the Great, observing, by a perusal of their history, that the Armenian kings were ever rebellious as their affairs became flourishing, determined to appoint two to reign over that country at the same time, so that if one revolted, the other might be made use of to bring the refractory again to subjection. With this view he appointed the two sons of Pap, Arsaces and Valarsaces, who were hostages at Constantinople, and still in their A. D. 366.

minority, joint kings of Armenia. He, however, detained their mother Zarmandught, who was a native of the imperial city, at Constantinople; and then sent the two young kings, with wise guardians, and a large army, to take possession of their kingdom.

A. D. 386. Arsaces the Third, and Valarsaces the Second, the sons of Pap, began their reign over Armenia under the auspices of the emperor Theodosius the Great. Arsaces fixed his residence in Duin, Valarsaces in the city of Eriza, in the province of Ekeliaz. The former married the daughter of Babik, chief of the Scunies; the latter of Isaac, the Bagratian noble. Valarsaces died shortly after his marriage, and before the expiration of a year after his assumption of the regal power. Just at this period Shahak the pontiff also died, having presided over the church for two years, or according to other information, four years. Zaven, of the family of Albianus, succeeded Shahak as pontiff, and died a year, or according to other accounts, four years, afterwards. Aspurakes, a relation of the last pontiff, then assumed that dignity, and died in the third, or as some state, in the fifth year of his pontificate. About this time, Theodosius being deeply employed in the affairs of the western part of his empire, appointed his eldest son Arcadius his colleague, and gave him the government of

the eastern nations. Shapuh, the king of Persia, hearing this, sent an embassy to the young emperor to negotiate a peace. A treaty was A. D. 387. then made between these two powerful nations, and in the articles that were drawn up on the occasion, some particulars were inserted respecting Armenia. They agreed to divide this kingdom into two parts; the western, extending from Armenia Minor and Mesopotamia to the limits of Taron, which was thenceforward to be tributary to the Greeks; and the eastern, which was far more populous and fruitful, comprehending all the country lying to the eastward of Mount Ararat, was ceded for ever to the Persians. This memorable event occurred in the second year of the reign of Arsaces the Third. Arsaces, on being informed of this partition of Armenia, held a consultation with his chiefs, and with their concurrence quitted that portion of the country that was thenceforward to belong to the Persians, and went to that which was to remain under the dominon of the emperor. He removed his court to the city of Eriza in the province of Ekeliaz. The Armenian chiefs accompanied him with their relations and property, conceiving it better to live in poverty, under the mild and paternal government of a christian king, than to enjoy riches under the yoke of a heathen. Shapuh, much hurt at this desertion of his part

of Armenia, endeavoured to entice them back by appointing Khosrove king over it.

A. D. 388. Khosrove the Third, of a branch of the Arsacidæ, shortly after the departure of Arsaces to Eriza, assumed the crown of that portion of Armenia ceded to the Persians. The king of Persia, immediately after this event, sent messages to the chiefs, who had accompanied Arsaces, inviting them to return and resume possession of their lands in Eastern Armenia. Most of them accepted this invitation and went back, but a few remained attached to Arsaces. Among the latter were the illustrious Dara, brother-in-law of Arsaces, and general of his army, the brave Gazavon, son of Spandarat the Camsaracan, and a few others, whose possessions were, for a while, confiscated by king Khosrove.

A. D. 389. Just before the chiefs, who had accepted Shapuh's invitation, set out on their return to Eastern Armenia, a quarrel took place between Arsaces and Isaac, the Bagratian noble, which induced the latter, with three other distinguished chiefs, to abandon Arsaces, and join themselves to Khosrove. On the departure of Isaac and his party from Eriza, Arsaces gave directions for the royal treasures to be taken out of the fortress of Ani, and conveyed to the country of Zophs. The former quickly got intelli-

gence of this, and waylaying the escort provided for the protection of the treasure, they succeeded in capturing it, and carried it in triumph to Khosrove, who took possession of it as public property. Isaac was rewarded for the share he had in this exploit with the appointment of generalissimo of his army. Arsaces, when he A. D. 390. heard of the capture of his treasure, and of its being given to Khosrove, wrote to the latter to demand its restoration. Khosrove treated his letter with the greatest indifference, replying, "the treasures in question belong to the state over which I preside, and shall be guarded accordingly." After many fruitless embassies had passed between them on the subject, Arsaces collected an army, and marched with great resentment against his rival. Khosrove was not averse to the contest, and brought together troops, with which he advanced to meet Arsaces. The armies came in sight of each other in the province of Vanand. The place on which they pitched their camps was called Erevil. As the day was hastening to its close when the two armies approached each other, the battle was suspended until the following day. In the interim, they sought repose from their previous fatigues. Both leaders had predetermined not to listen to any proposals for peace, but prepared to trust all to the sword. Thus

then did this unhappy nation again see her children about to plunge their swords into each other's bosoms. On the dawn of the next day, the troops engaged with all the rancour that particularly distinguishes civil wars. The armies met like two heavily laden ships, which in a storm are driven towards each other, and both sink by the violence of the concussion. The clamour of those actually contending, the shouts that marked a partial advantage, the groans of the dying, with the clash of the weapons and armour of the combatants, formed a scene of the greatest horror. Dara, the Seunian, and principal general of the army of Arsaces, made a gallant charge on the troops opposed to him, killing numbers with his own hand; but borne away by impetuosity, he was surrounded by a host of foes and killed. On his fall the advantage seemed to lean towards Khosrove; the army of Arsaces becoming disheartened by the loss of its best commander. Isaac, the Bagratian noble, not less brave and more skilful than Dara, after the fall of the latter, made a furious attack upon that part of the army where Arsaces was, and succeeded, after a dreadful carnage, in putting it to flight. Arsaces with difficulty made his escape, accompanied by a small band of followers. Gazavon, the Camsaracan, still remained, and fought with the courage of a lion; but seconded only by a few men, and

surrounded by the troops of Khosrove, he saw the battle was lost, and making a gallant charge through his foes, escaped and rejoined his master. Isaac, with a few troops, pursued the fugitives, and Arsaces was in the most imminent danger of being either killed or taken, when Gazavon seeing this, with a small party of men, attacked Isaac and drove him back, which extricated the king from his danger. The troops of Isaac were dispersed in a second attack by the gallantry of Gazavon. Several times did the victorious troops return to the assault, but were always foiled by the valour of this chief; and Arsaces succeeded in effecting his escape to his capital.

Isaac then returned to Khosrove, who, thereupon, retired to his kingdom. Arsaces shortly after fell a victim to a consumption, in the city of Eriza, after a reign of four years and a half; two over the whole of Armenia, and two and a half over a part of it. According to other computations he reigned seven years, five over the whole of the country, and two over the half of it.

After the death of Arsaces, the emperor did not appoint a king to rule over Armenia; but sent a Greek officer, as general of the armies of that nation, and chief of the nobles residing in that part under his power; the Armenian chiefs, with Gazavon at their head, being displeased

with this arrangement, wrote to Khosrove, to bury all ancient feuds in oblivion, to receive them as his subjects, to restore them their ancient possessions, or to give them others in room of them. Khosrove having consented, they renounced further obedience to the emperor, and went over to Eastern Armenia, where they were reinstated in possession of their lands, and lived in peace and tranquillity. Khosrove, a short time afterwards, wrote to the emperor Arcadius, and solicited the government of Western Armenia, promising to pay tribute, in proportion to what he paid the Persians for the kingdom he then held. Arcadius complied, and Khosrove thenceforward ruled over the whole of Armenia, acknowledging allegiance both to the Persians and Greeks.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The reign of Viramshapuh; the exile of Khosrove, during the days of St. Mesrop, when the Armenian characters were invented by the latter.

A. D. 390. On the death of Aspurakes the pontiff, Isaac the Parthian, son of Nierses the Great, with the consent of Khosrove and the whole Armenian nation, succeeded him. According to the old records, he was a mirror of every eminent and

estimable quality, a great preceptor of the church, and one whose humility and correct conduct, formed an admirable contrast to the pride and licentiousness of the other nobles of the kingdom.

A short time after the elevation of Isaac to the pontifical dignity, several of the chiefs, who were at enmity with Khosrove, finding that the saint had been appointed without any reference to Shapuh, went to that monarch, and made a complaint against their king, saying, that by the tenor of his conduct, they were sure he intended to rebel against the Persians. Shapuh, having lent a willing ear to this accusation, sent a strict command to Khosrove to repair instantly to Persia. The latter, exasperated at this message, exclaimed, "Am I the slave of Shapuh, that he chooses to treat me with this indignity? What business has he with me?" He then drove the messengers from his court with every mark of disgrace, and immediately after sent to the emperor Arcadius for assistance against the Persians. Arcadius refused granting him any aid. A. D. 391.

Shapuh then assembled an army, and placed it under the command of his son Artashir, directing him to march into Armenia, and bring Khosrove to reason. The Armenian monarch, bereft of all succour, fell into a state of sad anxiety, and having no better alternative, yielded A. D. 392.

himself up to Artashir. He was immediately dethroned, and put in chains, and his brother Viramshapuh appointed king. Artashir, immediately after he had taken possession of the kingdom, changed all the orders of rank which Khosrove had instituted amongst the chiefs. He also deposed St. Isaac from the pontifical chair, without even seeing him, but still continued the payment of tribute to the Greeks. The Camsaracan Gazavon, being at this period in possession of considerable power and influence with the people, Artashir, by stratagem, took him and his son Hirahat prisoners, and bound them in chains. With them and the captive Khosrove, he quitted the country, and set out for Ctesiphon, after leaving a large detachment of Persian troops with Viramshapuh, to keep the kingdom in order and tranquillity. Shavarsh, the brother of Gazavon, and Pargev the Amatunian chief, with his son Manuel, having taken with them seven hundred men, followed secretly the Persian prince, with a view of attempting the rescue of Khosrove, Gazavon, and his son. Having overtaken the Persians, they attacked them, and a bloody fight ensued. The captives being loaded with irons, the assailants were unable to set them at liberty. A vast number of the Persians fell in consequence of the confusion that prevailed amongst them from the unexpected

nature of the attack. The assailants, being all select and powerful men, made a dreadful carnage. Shavarsh, inflamed to fury by the recollection of his brother Gazavon in chains, cast himself into the Persian ranks, like a fire-brand spreading destruction wherever he came. Overpowered, however, by numbers, he fell. Manuel, the son of Pargev, was also killed, after having displayed surprizing feats of valour. His father Pargev met a worse fate, for in endeavouring to escape he was made prisoner, and brought before Artashir, who caused him to be flayed alive. Artashir then ordered Khosrove to be taken to the castle of Oblivion, in Khujastan, of which we formerly gave some particulars, and the skin of Pargev always to be held before him; Gazavon and his son Hirahat accompanied him; the former died after an imprisonment of two months.

Artashir wrote to Viramshapuh to confiscate all the property of Pargev, Gazavon, and his brother Shavarsh, and directed St. Isaac to be reinstated in the pontificate, at the importunity of the fettered Khosrove.

On the arrival of Artashir at Ctesiphon, he found his father Shapuh dead, upon which he assumed the government of Persia. Viramshapuh, the brother of Khosrove the Arsacian, on his succeeding the deposed monarch, shewed himself A. D. 392.

in all things obedient to the Persians, in consequence of which his reign was marked with great tranquillity. A year previous to this, Isaac, the Armenian generalissimo died, and St. Isaac solicited Viramshapuh to confer this appointment on his son-in-law Hamazasp, which was done. The pontiff then, having obtained from Viramshapuh a letter to Artashir, proceeded with it to Persia, to request that monarch to confirm Hamazasp in his new dignity. Here he was much honoured and esteemed for his meekness and humility, and Artashir granted his suit. Hamazasp was of the race of the Mamiconians. The king established by a decree, that this tribe should be the fifth in rank and dignity amongst the nobles of Armenia, and sent a letter by St. Isaac to Viramshapuh notifying his will. When Viramshapuh received it he acted according to the desires of the Persian sovereign.

A. D. 393. Some time after, Artashir died, and was succeeded by Viramcurmanshah, who distinguished the Armenians by particular favours. Conceiving a friendship for Viramshapuh, he set at liberty his brother Khosrove, who was this moment in chains in the castle of Oblivion; the latter was thenceforward supported in ease and affluence.

A. D. 395. When Armenia began to be a little tranquillized after the violent convulsion she had experienced, St. Isaac commenced repairing the churches

which had fallen into decay. He entirely rebuilt the church of St. Ripsima, and while prosecuting this work, discovered the urn of the saint sealed with the cross-engraven signet of St. Gregory. St. Isaac, having affixed his own seal on the urn, near that of St. Gregory, put it in its original place. At this time St. Mesrop became famous for sanctity and wisdom. He was the son of a pious man named Vardan, of the village of Hazecas in the province of Taron, and having become well versed in Greek literature, as well as in the arts and sciences, attached himself to St. Nierses. After the death of this glorious defender of the faith, Mesrop retired to a solitary place, and led a life of holy contemplation.

He was induced to leave this solitude by hearing the fame of St. Isaac, whom he visited, and from whom he received the dignity of a doctor of divinity. With the sanction of the pontiff, he taught and preached in all parts of the kingdom. In conjunction with St. Isaac, he endeavoured to form the Armenian alphabet, for till this period, the Armenians were accustomed to use the characters of other nations in their writings. Having found their exertions unavailing, they sought to gain, by prayer from God, what they conceived human ingenuity, unassisted by him, unequal to supply. St. Mesrop, about this time, with a few disciples, went to

A. D. 396.

A. D. 401.

A. D. 406.

Mesopotamia, and thence so Samosata; and at this latter place, in time of prayer, as it is related, received from the Almighty the object of his incessant supplications. Having arisen from his knees, he at that place and moment invented all our characters in exquisite perfection, and forthwith began to translate the book of Proverbs from the Greek, as a test of the character, in which he was assisted by two of his pupils, Johan of Ekeliaz and Joseph of Palin. This invention of the Armenian letters took place in A. D. 406, in the seventeenth year of the pontificate of St. Isaac,
A. D. 407. and fifteenth of the reign of Viramshapuh. St. Mesrop, with his invention, came joyfully to Armenia, and the king and pontiff went to meet him, bringing him to the capital with songs of praise and glory to the Bestower
A.D. 408. of all good. From this period the Armenian characters were introduced into all the schools in the kingdom, and youth were taught their language by them. Armenian literature soon attained a respectable height, and the Persian division of the kingdom became celebrated for knowledge of every description. St. Mesrop, after this, invented distinct characters for the Georgians and Aluans, according to the different nature of their languges. Viramshapuh directed all these things to be inserted in the royal archives, bearing the testimony of the whole

nation. St. Isaac then commenced translating into Armenian the Old Testament, from the Syriac, as St. Mesrop had already given a translation of the New Testament. A. D. 411.

Having a great desire to obtain Armenian copies of all the considerable works of other nations, the two saints, not having time themselves to devote to this object, sent their learned disciples to Edessa and Constantinople, there to select and translate those books which were in the greatest repute. These individuals were Joseph of Palin, Eznik of Colb, Johan of Ekeliaz, Arzan the Arzrunian, Leond the celebrated priest, and the highly distinguished and learned Coreun. These six persons having met at Constantinople, joined heart and hand in furtherance of the great object of their mission, and forthwith commenced their labour. They were employed in this work of translating for a period of seven years.

They were afforded considerable assistance by Maximianus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, at the request of St. Mesrop. They found in the imperial library an exact copy of the Old Testament, according to the Septuagint, and a correct one of the New Testament in the Greek language. These they brought into Armenia, where St. Isaac, assisted by St. Mesrop, commenced translating them anew. And as

some difficulties occurred, they sent their pupils to Alexandria and Athens, to perfect themselves in the knowledge of Greek. After their return, the translations were finished, by the removal of those difficulties which had impeded the labours of their masters.*

CHAPTER XXV.

The re-appointment of Khosrove to the crown, and the reign of Shapuh the Persian.

A. D. 413. About six years after the memorable invention of the Armenian letters, Viramshapuh the king of Armenia died, after reigning in piety and peace twenty-one years. He left a son ten years of age, named Artaces. The chiefs, having consulted together, were of opinion that the young prince, being but a child, was unfit to ascend the throne, and therefore solicited St. Isaac to go to Persia and entreat Hazkert, the king of that country, to re-appoint their ancient monarch Khosrove to the crown. The saint concurring in their views, consented, and set out for Persia, being furnished with a letter from the chiefs to Hazkert, specifying their wishes. On Hazkert being informed by the saint of

* See Hist. B. II, c. 54—58.

the object of his mission, he set Khosrove at liberty. The latter then applied to the Persian monarch for the liberation of Hirahat the Camsaracan, the son of Gazavon, from the castle of Oblivion, which he graciously granted. But Khosrove had not the pleasure of again seeing his old companion in bonds, for on his arrival in Armenia he died; having reigned this second time a year, but according to other accounts only eight months. Just about the same time Hamazasp the Mamiconian, son-in-law of Isaac, and generalissimo of Armenia, died, leaving three sons, Vardan, Himayak, and Hamazaspian. A. D. 414.

Hazkert having always wished to alienate the Armenians from the christian faith, and estrange their chiefs from the Greeks, on the death of Khosrove would not appoint a successor from amongst the Armenians; but by nominating a Persian to the crown, thought he should have a fairer opportunity of accomplishing his favourite objects. He therefore sent his son Shapuh to rule over them, having instructed him to endeavour to seduce the Armenian chiefs to engage in revelry and intemperance, that he might relax their minds from the strict observance of the laws of the faith they professed. The chiefs received the prince with much reluctance, and on all occasions treated him with the greatest contempt. Once, on a hunting party with this A. D. 415. A. D. 416.

prince, the chiefs pursued a drove of wild asses into a part of the country very rugged and difficult of access. Shapuh stopped through fear, whilst the others continued the chase. Atom, the chief of the Mocks, coming near the king, exclaimed, "Why dost thou not also run with us, thou Persian demigod? Surely thou art a man and not a woman!" Shapuh answered in a rage, "I stop, knowing that devils are mischievous in such craggy places as these," thereby likening the chief to a devil. Atom bore this insult in mind, and waited for an opportunity
A. D. 417. to retaliate. Some time after, the king again went to hunt wild boars. The reeds, which afforded a covert to these animals, being set on fire, Shapuh, by some mismanagement of his horse, got into the middle of the flames, and was unable to pass out, the beast upon which he rode becoming unmanageable. Whilst he was running to and fro to get away from the fire, which was now approaching very close, Atom, the chief beforementioned, came up to him, and cried out, "Here is nothing but your father and your god, why are you afraid?" alluding to his worship of fire. Shapuh replied, "Leave off jeering now, and make a road through the fire, by passing with your horse; mine starts on my attempting to plunge through." Atom then laughing at him, said with contempt, "Are these

stones, that I should proceed forward? No, it is fire, which you worship, that surrounds you. Why then do you avoid your God and urge me to go forward? Thou hast called the Mocks a tribe of devils. I can find no other name more applicable to the Sasanians than cowards!" The king it will be recollected was a Sasanian. On concluding this speech, he clapped spurs to his horse, and passed through, as through a garden of flowers, leaving a passage open to Shapuh, by which his life was preserved. Atom, perceiving that the king would never forgive him for the contempt with which he had treated him, retired to his country, the land of the Mocks. In a like contemptuous manner Shapuh was treated by other chiefs.

About this time, Hazkert, king of Persia, commenced a dreadful persecution of the christians, and many were martyred by him. St. Isaac, being much esteemed by him, took a journey into Persia, and by mild language and good counsels succeeded in softening his heart. St. Marutha assisted him in this delightful work. A. D. 418.

After the persecution of the christians had ceased, Hazkert fell dangerously ill, which coming to the knowledge of Shapuh, he left Armenia in the fourth year of his reign, and hastened to visit his father. On his quitting the kingdom, however, he left a large body of A. D. 419.

Persian troops under the command of Varah, whom he directed to seize the chiefs and nobles and carry them to Persia. On the day of Shapuh's arrival at Ctesiphon, Hazkert died, and the former himself was murdered by the deceased king's servants; not many hours afterwards Viram the Second succeeded to the crown of Persia.

When the Armenian chiefs heard of the death of Hazkert and Shapuh, and the order given by the latter to his general respecting their seizure, they assembled an army, and appointed Nerseh of Chihrak general. He was a chief of distinguished valour, and immediately after his appointment to head the Armenian troops, set out with them to attack the Persians. The conflict between simple bravery, and courage inspired by patriotism, was short. The Persians were completely routed. Varah, their general, observing the fate of the day, and that there was no hope of further assistance, rushed into the middle of the Armenian ranks, and there met his death from the hand of Apirsam the Spandunian. After this, the chiefs separated, each retiring into his stronghold, and living independent of all controul. Some lived in inaccessible places in the mountains, being prevented from coming into the plains by the fear of Viram the Persian king. Every one protected himself by

the power of his arm, and the Persian division of Armenia was in the greatest anarchy for a period of three years. All intercourse between the different parts of the country was suspended, and commerce entirely ruined.

Viram also, in seeking revenge for the defeat and death of his general Varah, dreadfully A. D. 420. harassed the inhabitants of the country. St. Isaac, observing these calamities, determined to leave that division of the country, and taking with him St. Mesrop and his three grandsons, Vardan, Himayak, and Hamazaspian, went to the Greek division of Armenia. But the chiefs here would not acknowledge him their pontiff, being under the spiritual government of the bishop of Cesarea; neither would they allow St. Mesrop to instruct their children in the knowledge of the Armenian letters.

St. Isaac, offended at this, dispatched letters to the emperor Theodosius, and Atticus the patriarch of Constantinople, as also to Anatolius, general of the Greeks in the east, then living in the city of Melita, praying to be permitted to exercise the authority of pontiff in the division of Armenia under the government of the emperor. He also begged for permission to institute schools for the instruction of youth in the Armenian language by the newly invented characters. These letters were sent by St. Mesrop accom-

panied by Vardan. The emperor, having perused the letters addressed to him, and being pleased with the elegant manners of St. Mesrop, granted the request of St. Isaac, and moreover appointed Vardán generalissimo of the Armenian troops belonging to his division of the kingdom. Atticus, also, the patriarch, as far as regarded his spiritual authority, had no objection to St. Isaac assuming the government of the Armenian church. He appointed St. Mesrop an hierarch, or ecclesiasticus, who proved vigilant and wise in his sacred function, like restless and pious conventuals.

A. D. 421. On the return of St. Mesrop, the Armenians received St. Isaac as their spiritual guide, and also founded schools for the instruction of their youth in the knowledge of the newly invented Armenian letters. After a short time, when St. Isaac and St. Mesrop had taken a little rest from their labours, they commenced regulating the church ceremonies, agreeably to the ecclesiastical code and calendar. St. Mesrop, for a season, devoted his time wholly to this work, and in consequence of the zeal he displayed in it, the book, containing the regulations, was called Mashtoz, which was one of his surnames.

These two blessed saints also composed

A. D. 426. anthems to be sung by eight voices. After all these works were finished, St. Isaac convened a

meeting in Valarshapat, from which originated six treatises, containing rules for the better government of bishops, suffragans, priests, and their congregations.

About this period a general council was held A. D. 431. at Ephesus, to consider the heresy of Nestorius, and at its conclusion the patriarchs present wrote an epistle to the Armenians, containing the proceedings of the meeting, which was given to the six translators, who, as we have before observed, were in Constantinople. By them it was delivered to St. Isaac, together with a copy of the Bible. He immediately summoned a meeting at the city of Ashtishat, where the decisions of the council of Ephesus were approved, and the doctrines of Nestorius and his partizans condemned. Some short time after, the followers of Nestorius began to disseminate their heresies in Armenia, by the books of Theodorus of Mopsuesta, and Diodorus of Tarsus. St. Isaac, on obtaining information of it, again summoned an assembly in Ashtishat, where these books were condemned by an anathema, and directions sent to Constantinople forbidding the introduction of similar works into the kingdom.*

* See Hist. Book II, c. 59.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The reign of Artashir, or Artaces the Last.

A. D. 422. VIRAM, the king of Persia, having for three years dreadfully harassed the inhabitants of his part of Armenia, found that it was almost depopulated; and began to relax in his severity when he discovered that the accustomed tributes were discontinued.

By means of Sumbat the Bagratian he proposed terms of peace to the almost expatriated chiefs, and promised to desist from further molesting them. He also proposed to appoint them a king in the person of Artaces, the son of Viramshapuh, their former monarch. The Armenian chiefs, tired of the desultory life they led, gladly closed with these terms and issued out of their fastnesses.

A. D. 422. Artaces then assumed the crown in his eighteenth year, and according to the request of Viram, took the name of Artashir, in remembrance of Artashir the Sasanian, whose memory was fondly cherished by the Persian monarch. Artashir, as we shall henceforward call him, at

first went on very well, guiding his conduct by the strictest probity; but led away by his youth and inexperience, he at length fell into habits of effeminacy and sensuality. He had, however, a certain respect for virtue, which prevented him from violating decency in public, and he was accustomed to gratify his vicious inclinations in secret. Being at length discovered by St. Isaac, he was several times admonished by him. On these occasions the young monarch never failed to deny the charge, but nevertheless became more and more a slave to his vices. The chiefs, A. D. 427. relinquishing all hope of his reform, went to St. Isaac, and besought him to join with them in soliciting from Viram the deposition of Artashir from the throne, and the appointment of a Persian governor in his room. St. Isaac rejected their proposal with indignation. "I cannot consent," said he, "to betray the smaller criminal into the hands of the greater, or to exchange my infirm sheep for a healthy wolf." The chiefs then proceeded to Viram, and complained both of Artashir and the saint. The Persian king immediately sent for the accused, saying to the complainants, "It is not customary with us to decide on the guilt of the accused on the bare assertion of their accusers. Let us hear also their defence."

Artashir and the Saint being arrived in Per-

sia, Viram first spoke to the former, and acquainted him with the nature of the accusation laid against him. The young king replied, "I am entirely innocent of these charges, for I was never found remiss in protecting the country, or doing justice to my subjects, as my accusers well know; I can only account for their hostility by a knowledge of its being customary for them to hate their monarchs, and that in persecuting me, they only follow their usual habits."

Artashir was afterwards confronted with his accusers in presence of Viram, and although he urged much in his defence, the latter appeared to regard him as criminal. The Persian king wished to have the entire possession of Armenia, and therefore readily listened to complaints which furnished him with a pretext for gratifying his desires. He was, indeed, determined to condemn Artashir, when he heard the chiefs exclaim, as if with one voice, "What occasion have we for a king? Let a Persian governor come and
A. D. 428. rule over us!" This desire of the unworthy Armenian chiefs exactly suiting the views of Viram, he forthwith deposed Artashir, and removed St. Isaac from the pontifical chair. He confiscated all their private property, drove the former to Khujastan, and confined the latter in prison. He appointed an individual named

Surmak to succeed St. Isaac in the government of the Armenian church, and nominated a Persian, called Vehmihrshapuh, to be prefect of that kingdom. He afterwards dismissed the chiefs, loading them with valuable gifts. Thus, by the highly culpable conduct of these traitors, the dominion of the Arsacidæ over the Armenians ceased for ever; after having lasted from the time of Valarsaces, embracing a period of about 580 years. This memorable event occurred A. D. 428; and posterity has no doubt often wondered at the passiveness of the people in seeing their government overturned, their ancient institutions destroyed, and their very political existence annihilated, without making one struggle in their defence. Some few years afterwards, on the death of Artashir or Artaces, a captive in Khujastan, the race of the Arsacidæ, under which Armenia had acquired so much glory, became extinct.

PART IV.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PREFECTS, WHICH LASTED 456 YEARS.

A. D. 428. ON the removal of the royal dignity from Armenia, by the destruction of the power of the Arsacidæ, this country was stripped of her glory, and sunk into a state of the lowest degradation. Henceforward she was governed by prefects; that dignity being sometimes held by Armenians, oftener by foreigners of various nations and religions. Prefects were first sent by the Persians to govern Armenia. They possessed three distinct powers: first, as viceroys on behalf of Persia; secondly, as having the supreme government of the land, without referring to any state or prince; thirdly, the power of life and death, and the nomination and recal of the governors of the provinces at will. They were, however, restricted from altering the different orders of nobility, and from seizing by force any towns or villages and appropriating them to their private purposes. They were not accustomed to entertain foreign troops to any great amount, they had merely a small force from their own

countries as a body-guard. They generally performed all expeditions with Armenian soldiers. In times of exigency, they would send for troops from Persia. Their general place of residence was the city of Duin. Here they collected the tributes, and hence they were dispatched to the Persian king. The period of their prefectures was unlimited. Those appointed from amongst the Armenians had precisely the same power and privileges as others.

When this country fell under the dominion of the Caliphs of Damascus, whose power superseded that of the Persians in Armenia, Prefects were usually sent at the head of a large body of troops to take possession of the government. The city of Duin was generally the seat of their power, and thence they spread their army over the kingdom, keeping the Armenians in awe, and ready to oppose an invader at whatever point he presented himself. They were not altogether independent in the exercise of their authority; being placed under the immediate control of the governor of Atropatia. On particular emergencies, however, they were allowed to inflict capital punishment. The appointment of Lieutenants to provinces rested solely with them.

Sometimes the Prefect was appointed by the Caliph, from amongst the Armenians, but he was not allowed the power of punishing criminals

with death, without a previous reference to Damascus. The rulers of the Grecian part of Armenia, appointed by the emperor, were also styled Prefects; so that we have designated this fifth book, the government of the Prefects.

CHAPTER I.

The prefecture of Vehmihrshapuh, and the illegal pontificates of Surmak, Burkishow and Shimuel, and the pontificate of Joseph.

A. D. 428. Vehmihrshapuh, the Persian, was the first prefect that governed Armenia, being appointed by Viram, the Persian monarch, when the latter decided on the extinction of royalty in that nation. He was a prudent and well disposed man, and governed the country with justice for a period of thirteen years. Let us now cast an eye on the state of the church.

Surmak, a priest from the city of Arzkey, in the province of Buznunia, at the request of the chiefs, was appointed by Viram to succeed the imprisoned St. Isaac in the pontifical chair. This individual having conducted himself improperly, was soon expelled by the chiefs from the government of the Armenian church, after possessing it for the short period of one year. On his expulsion he retired to his province, where

he bitterly repented of the injury he had done St. Isaac in joining the chiefs in their infamous accusation of that holy man to Viram king of Persia. Burkishow, an Assyrian, then became A. D. 429. pontiff, but proved worse than his predecessor, by forcibly extorting from the bishops their private property. The chiefs soon became disgusted with him, and wished for his removal. Some were desirous of reappointing St. Isaac, others of seeing another in the pontifical dignity. Both parties signified their wishes to Viram, who seeking to please all, restored St. Isaac to his dignity, but only permitted him to act in spiritual affairs. He nominated another, named Shimuel, a Syrian, as his colleague, whose province was to supervise the temporal matters of the Armenian clergy. Some time afterwards, Viram, at the request of St. Isaac, reappointed Vardan, the grandson of the latter, generalissimo of the Armenians, and Vahan, an Amatunian, to act as lieutenant to Vardan, and sent them both to Armenia.

Shimuel, the Syrian, was a disgrace to the A. D. 432. pontificate. He was more intolerable than Burkishow, and after remaining in that dignity for seven years, died, to the great relief of the clergy.

On this event, the chiefs came to St. Isaac, A. D. 439. and soliciting his forgiveness for the injuries

they had done him, besought him to be their sole pontiff. He refused complying with their wishes, informing them that he had beheld a vision, wherein he was forewarned of the removal of the pontificate from the house of the Illuminator, and of the kingdom from the race of the Arsacidæ. He then retired to a village called Blur, in the province of Bagrevand, and there died, on the 30th of Navasard (August), the
A. D. 440. anniversary of his birth, A. D. 440. His body was buried in the village of Ashtishat. A magnificent church was erected over his remains, and an annual feast appointed in remembrance of him, on each return of which, as we are told,
A. D. 440. many miracles were wrought. Mesrop, or Mashtoz, surnamed the blessed, succeeded St. Isaac, and died after a short pontificate of six months. This event took place in the city of Valarshapat; his remains were interred in the village of Oshakan. An annual feast was also instituted in remembrance of him.*

A. D. 441. Joseph, from the village of Holozim, in the valley of Vayoz, a disciple of St. Isaac and Mesrop, by the direction of the latter just before his death, took possession of the pontifical chair. Not being a bishop, he was not qualified to confer ordination, this office being performed by Surmak, the expelled pontiff, of whom we made

* See Hist. Book II, c. 58 and 60.

some mention before. At the end of six years Joseph was consecrated a bishop, when he was enabled to discharge fully the duties incumbent on a pontiff. Shortly after this, he held a meeting in Shahapivan, A. D. 447, when he established twenty canons, with suitable penalties attached to the breach of them, for the better administration of the spiritual affairs of the people.*

About this time Hazkert the Second ascended the throne of Persia, and meditated the conversion of the Armenians, Aluans, and Georgians, to the worship of fire, to which he was much instigated by the suggestions of his vizier Mihrnerseh. While the king was revolving his projects in his bosom, Varazvalan, the son-in-law of Vasak the Seunian, with whom he had quarrelled, left Armenia and came into Persia. When he was informed of the king's desire, he immediately abjured his faith, and embraced the religion of the Persians, expecting to obtain, through his apostacy, great power and influence. He waited on the vizier Mihrnerseh, and urged A. D. 442. the instant commencement of the attempt to convert his countrymen. Mihrnerseh, inflamed by his words, proceeded to the king, and irritated the mind of the monarch still more with a desire to accomplish his designs. Hazkert then,

* See Hist. Book III, c. 2.

having consulted the Magi, wrote to the Armenians, Georgians, and Aluans, desiring them to send him troops to aid him in his war with the Huns. He imagined, that by thus getting the chiefs into a foreign country, he should be able with ease to make them forsake their religion and embrace his, and afterward, it was most probable, they might be induced to continue to practise it in their own country. In order, however, to begin by conciliation, he appointed Vasak the Seunian Prefect of the country, and Vardan the Mamiconian generalissimo of the forces in Armenia.

CHAPTER II.

The prefecture of Vasak the Seunian, and the events which occurred amongst the Vardanians.

A. D. 442. VASAK the Seunian being appointed prefect, by the concurrence and advice of Vardan and other chiefs, and agreeably to the order of Hazkert, sent to the province of Apar a large body of Armenian troops, accompanied by many priests and chiefs. Having subsequently repaired thither, he found that the king, together with the Georgians and Aluans, had assembled there. The king was extremely happy at the readiness with

which Vasak obeyed his orders; he forthwith placed himself at the head of the combined armies, and marched against the Huns. Two years were spent in various contests with this people, but nothing decisive was effected. Hazkert, perceiving that there was no sign of a speedy peace, became uneasy, lest the Armenians should be disheartened by the protraction of the war. To obviate this, he caused a great part of them to return home, and others to be sent in their room. During this time he built a large castle near the gate of Chorah, and there established his court. The king now began to prosecute his de- A. D. 449.
signs for converting the christians. He often exhorted the chiefs to renounce their faith, and embrace the doctrine of the Magi, but all was ineffectual. He put Daregin the Surwantztian in prison, for the boldness of his reply to one of the king's exhortations on conversion. On the two chiefs, Atom the Gnunian, and Manachihr the Rushtunian, leaving his court, he caused them to be arrested and martyred, together with their followers.

He then alternately tried mildness and severity, to induce the Armenians and other christians to a public denial of their religion. To intimidate them, he seized four of the Armenian nobles, and after cruelly torturing them, put them in dungeons. This not producing the effect he

expected, his anger knew no bounds; some of the Armenians he tortured by flagellation, many perished by starvation, imprisonment, and various other modes of punishment. When he found all useless, and their faith alike proof against his favour and his vengeance, he sent into Armenia one Denshapuh to harass the inhabitants by heavy taxes, leaving it to his discretion to torture them, if they were unable to furnish what he might require from them. All, however, was ineffectual; the people were firm in their attachment to the faith of their forefathers.

A. D. 450. After the conquest of the Huns, which took place some short time after these events, Hazkert returned to Persia. Hence he wrote to the Armenians, directing them in the most peremptory manner to embrace the Persian religion. He also ordered Mihrnerseh, the apostate before-mentioned, to send them an account of the tenets of the Persian faith. On the arrival of the king's letter in Armenia, St Joseph the pontiff convened a meeting in the city of Artashat, attended by all the chiefs, and here, by general consent, they wrote a reply, alike distinguished for its wisdom and piety. Hazkert, on receipt of it, became highly exasperated at the language it contained, and immediately issued a mandate, commanding the whole of the Armenian chiefs to repair to his court.

Vasak the prefect, with Vardan the general, and other great chiefs, accompanied by Vazgen, the governor of the Georgians, and son-in-law of Vardan, Ashusha, governor of the Gugars, and Vachey, governor of the Aluans, then proceeded to Persia.

On their arrival at court, Hazkert ordered them all to be confined in prison, determining to exile them in chains to a distant country, if they did not worship the sun on its rise the following morning. In the meantime, one of the eunuchs of the king, who was a christian, although obliged to conceal his faith, came to the chiefs, and thus advised them: "Should you," said he, "be driven into exile, christianity will perish in Armenia; for Hazkert will send troops and Magi thither, and forcibly compel the inhabitants to embrace the Persian religion. But if you, at this juncture, outwardly profess to yield to the king's wishes, you may again return to your country, and preserve it from the horrors which will otherwise devastate it."—The chiefs reluctantly consented to the advice of the eunuch, and in the morning worshipped the sun in presence of Hazkert. The king, overjoyed at the result of his project, loaded them with honours, and sent them back to Armenia, accompanied by a number of Magi. On their arrival in the province of Zalcote, the

chief Magi, with some troops, entered into a village called Anghel, and wished to demolish a christian church standing there: St. Levond, the priest of the village, with his people, indignant at the sacrilegious attempt, drove the impious band out of the place. On the circulation of the report of this affair, multitudes of Armenians flocked to the village. Joseph the pontiff, with many bishops, also arrived there; all were ready to die in defence of their church and religion.

Vardan, the general, also came from the camp, and throwing himself at the feet of the bishops, with tears implored forgiveness for his apostacy, at the same time acquainting them with the real nature of his and the other chiefs intentions. The Prefect, Vasak the Seunian, who had also arrived there, and who had from his heart renounced christianity, approached the bishops, and in a deceitful way persuaded them to retire each to his own home, and remain quiet: "For," said he, "let the Magi alone for some time, and they, finding the fruitlessness of their endeavours, will of their own accord leave the country."—By this way of arguing, he induced many persons to tolerate the Magi, in hopes of seeing them quit their task in despair. The Magi, thus left unmolested to prosecute their machinations, at length obtained entrance into the houses of the

Armenian nobles. They found a ready admittance into the mansions of those who had become any way relaxed in their faith, and by this means introduced into Armenia the abominable and ridiculous worship of ashes and cinders. Vardan, observing the progress of these ministers of a miserable and detestable superstition, and having no means of applying a remedy, with his family quitted the country. When the other chiefs heard of his departure they sent messengers after him, and with much importunity persuaded him to return. They then joined him and drove from their houses the Magi and their leader. Hereupon Vasak, the Prefect, with a view to support the idolaters, assembled the Persian troops in the province of Bagrevand, but they were attacked by the Armenian chiefs and completely defeated. Many prisoners were made, and among the rest Vasak, who, by entreaty, and swearing on the evangelists to remain henceforward constant to christianity, was released. The Armenians then convened an assembly in Shahapivan, attended by a number of bishops, when the latter, having stated the calamitous condition of the country, thus addressed those present: "We now have to choose either to forsake our religion and recover our lost kingdom, or to keep our faith and suffer martyrdom. The first it is

needless to say that we never will do; if we abide by the second, it is certainly true that we shall obtain the glorious crown of martyrdom; but our country will be entirely converted by the sword to the Persian religion, and in the lapse of time the light and glory of christianity will be lost to Armenia, and the name of our God be daily blasphemed. There is another alternative. Let us not passively earn the crown of martyrdom. Let us give up ourselves to the Most High, and not think of personal protection. Let us fight for the honour of the holy church which Christ has made his bride."—On this being heard, every one determined to meet the Persians in war, and not to allow them to introduce their doctrine into Armenia; and individually swore on the holy evangelists to shed in battle every drop of blood in defence of their religion. The Armenians then assembled their forces, amounting to about 100,000 men, and made a simultaneous attack on all the Persians in the kingdom, as well as the troops which Vasak, together with other apostates, had collected. They were every where attended with success. They stormed the villages and cities where the Magi had taken up their residence, seized their persons, and put them to death. They also demolished all the temples of fire which had been erected, and purified all the churches in the vicinity of which they had

stood. They seized, in the city of Duin, Shavasp the Arzrunian, and put him to death. They burnt Vundoy, and hanged his son Sheroy. They built also in the capital a new church, entirely of wood, and dedicated it to the Illuminator, in token of the renewal of the religion with which they had first become acquainted by his means.

During these events, many miracles were wrought, exhibiting the favour and protection of the Almighty to the Armenians, which many of the Persians observing, became believers in Christ. While the Armenians were thus engaged in clearing the country of the infidels, melancholy intelligence was received from the Aluans, who had sent messengers entreating the former to afford them assistance, as Hazkert had sent them also Magi and troops to turn them from their religion. When the Armenians learned this, they held a council, to take into consideration what was best to be done. Having decided upon the measures they were to adopt, they forthwith dispatched ambassadors to Theodosius the younger, beseeching him to assist them. But this emperor died immediately after, and his successor, Marcianus, did not choose to interfere, being afraid of the Persians, and at that time engaged in extinguishing the confusion created by the followers of Eutyches, for which purpose a large assembly was convened in Chalcedon.*

* See Hist. Book III, c. 10 and 19.

The Armenians then left to themselves, put their trust in God, and divided their troops into three divisions. One was placed under the command of Rumbosian Nershapuh the Arzrunian, who was directed to proceed with it to the province of Atropatia, and remain there, to prevent an invasion by the Persians. The second was placed under the charge of Vasak the Seunian, to remain in Armenia for the protection of the inhabitants. The third was confided to Vardan, who marched with it to the country of the Aluans. In his progress he encountered, in the open field, opposite the city of Khalkhal, a body of Persian troops commanded by Sebokht. These he immediately engaged. Arshavir the Camsaracan, and Mush the Dimaxian, rushed impetuously to the charge, but through their ignorance of the country, their horses fell into a slough, from which they were unable to extricate themselves. The enemy, perceiving this, let fly their arrows at the two warriors, whereby the gallant Mush was killed. Arshavir then leaped from his horse, and placing himself in the rear of the animal, endeavoured to goad him forward to a spot where the ground was firm. All this time the arrows were shot at him in showers. He however covered himself with his shield, and finding that a longer stay there was dangerous, succeeded, with the loss of one of his boots, in getting out. Then rushing on

the enemy like a lion, he obliged them to retreat, after he had killed prince Vurk, the brother of the king of the Lupnies. He then returned, and extricated his horse from the slough; when mounting, with undaunted courage he again sought the foe.

Inspired by his example, the other Armenian chiefs cut down the enemy with the greatest valour and spirit. The brave Vardan particularly distinguished himself. Wherever he presented himself, the enemy were mowed down by his sword as blades of grass by the sickle. The Persians, disheartened by the dreadful slaughter committed in their ranks by the valorous Armenian chiefs, now took to flight. They were pursued by the victors as far as the banks of the river Lobnas, where many of the fugitives perished in endeavouring to cross. The Armenians afterward returned, and took possession of much of the spoil left behind by the vanquished. The following day the Armenian army, passing the river Cur, entered the country of the Aluans, where they massacred all the Magi and Persians whom they discovered. They then purified all the places that had been polluted by the sacrifices of these heathens, and succeeded in delivering the Aluans from the dreadful scourge with which they had been tormented. The successful troops then advanced to the gate of Chorah, beforementioned, where they put to death every

Persian in the neighbourhood, and totally demolished the edifice, which, as we have before observed, had been built there by Hazkert. They then dispatched ambassadors to the kings of the Aluans and the Huns, with whom they established a covenant of peace, confirmed by an oath. But while one portion of the Armenians was engaged in such gallant exploits, Vasak the Seunian having separated himself from the christian church, together with some others, again introduced into Armenia the worship of fire. They again commenced the same scene of blood and torture which had before disgraced the country: many churches were demolished, the priests of which were tortured, and more than one village was totally destroyed. The sons of the chiefs were seized and sent to Persia, and a new agreement was formed with Hazkert, Mihrnerseh, and the chief Magi, to bring the whole of the inhabitants to the worship of fire. Vasak the Seunian, with his unworthy coadjutors, also wrote to the Greeks, and other nations, accusing Vardan of having rebelled from the king of Persia and from them.

The division of Armenia under the Greeks was at that time ruled by one Vasak a Mamiconian. To him also Vasak wrote privately, calumniating the Vardanians, upon which he, no less wicked than his adviser, wrote to the emperor, and by his representations rendered

Vardan and his gallant partizans detestable. "*This* Vasak," says Elishey, "found *that* Vasak; and *their* confederacy proved the ruin of their country." When Vardan and his friends A. D. 451. heard of the calumnies that had been spread abroad by Vasak, and of the abominable acts consequent on his apostacy, they returned to Armenia, and again swept the country. They made an incursion into Seunies, the province of Vasak, where they destroyed many places, and captured numbers of prisoners. Consulting with each other, they released one of their Persian prisoners, and sent him as an ambassador to Hazkert, with directions to signify their willingness to serve him, if he would leave them unmolested in the exercise of their religion. The Persian monarch agreed to this, yet harboured in his heart a deadly rancour against the Armenians; and in order to execute the more easily what he contemplated, he resolved, at all events, to break the present union amongst them. With this object in view, he published a general letter addressed to all the christians living under his government, directing them to exercise the rites of their religion openly in all places.

The Armenians, having perceived the latent object of Hazkert, did not separate; but rather joined more closely, determined to prepare themselves for the worst.

CHAPTER III.

The wickedness of Vasak, and the martyrdom of the Vardanians.

A. D. 451. THE king of Persia, observing that all his endeavours to lull the vigilance of the Armenians were ineffectual, assembled a large army, and placing Mihrnerseh at the head of it, directed him to march into Armenia, and massacre the inhabitants indiscriminately. Mihrnerseh went to Phaitacaran, and sent for the apostate Vasak, by whom he was informed of the preparations for resistance of the united party; and earnestly besought, as a preparatory step, to endeavour to dissolve their union. Vasak then took two priests, named Zangak and Peter, and two deacons, Isaac and Mushie, and with them affirmed to the leaders of the united christians, on oath, that Hazkert had directed that they were to be permitted henceforward, quietly to profess their religion. He declared to them, that Mihrnerseh was come to subdue them by the sword, if they were not content to accept the terms he had offered; which were, that if the christians would be content to remain in peace, they

should be protected in the exercise of their religion; but if they decided on war, his expedition was ready to commence hostilities. By these wilful falsehoods, the execrable Vasak destroyed the union which had subsisted between the Georgians, Aluans, and Armenians. Mihrnerseh, having observed that Vasak was actually sincere in his treachery, and that through his means the wishes of Hazkert had been realized, made over his large army to the command of the Persian general Mushcan Neusalavurt, directing him to act according to the desires of the prefect, and then went into Persia. When he was introduced into the presence of the Persian monarch, instead of praising the zeal of Vasak, he represented him as a dangerous and detestable character. The brave and noble Vardan, remarking the iniquity of Vasak, and the vast warlike preparations of the Persians, spread his emissaries throughout Armenia, inviting his countrymen to join his standard in defence of the faith. By this means his army swelled to 66,000 men, who gathered together in the city of Artashat, devoting themselves to death for their religion, and for the glory and honour of Christ and his church. St. Joseph, the pontiff, and Isaac, the bishop of the Rushtunians, with Levond the priest, and many others of the clergy also repaired to that city, to join

their devoted countrymen. Vardan heard that the Persians had pitched their camp in the province of Heir, from which they sallied at times, laying waste the country; he immediately sent a detachment under the command of Zaranzar, the Amatunian, to disperse the plunderers. Zaranzar drove in all the depredating foraging parties of the enemy, and having reconnoitred their camp, returned to the united army.

Vasak, however, had not been idle. He assembled his adherents, and joined the Persians, where they lay encamped, and more and more inflamed them against his devoted countrymen. By the means also of villainous priests, he very much cooled the ardour of many attached to the united party, and who, although they did not quite separate themselves from Vardan, were better inclined toward Vasak.

The two armies at length met near the village of Avarayr. The Persians encamped on the plain, the patriotic Armenians near a river which is called Mory. The day being far advanced when the adverse armies came in sight of each other, the contest was deferred, apparently by mutual consent, until the following morning. Vardan passed among the ranks of his men, accompanied by the priest Levond, both exhorting them to resist manfully the power of the invaders in the approaching fight.

The Armenians all took the sacrament that night, and inflamed with the love of Christ and their country, felt themselves doubly strengthened. On the following day, which was the 26th Marery (May), and the seventh day of Whitsuntide, the Armenians, eager for the contest which was to decide the fate of all they held dear, crossed the river and commenced the attack. They were at first attended with success, the Persians being cut down with great slaughter, but treason broke out in their ranks. Five thousand men, who were secretly attached to the other party, drew themselves off and joined the Persians. This unexpected event changed the fortune of the day, and the Armenians were routed. The glorious Vardan, having performed prodigies of valour, fell, with nine other chiefs. In all, the number of slain on the side of the vanquished, that were left on the field, amounted to 296 men. In the pursuit, the Persians took 740 prisoners, who were prevented from fleeing with the same speed as the others, by being wounded. These were immediately put to death, making on the whole the loss of the Armenians to amount to 1,036.

The victors suffered more severely; their slain amounting to 3,544, nine of whom were great chiefs of Persia. If the defalcation of those 5,000 perfidious cowards had not thrown

confusion amongst the Armenians, the Persians would have incontestably lost the battle. As it was, however, Vasak, seeing the little fruit he had reaped by his victory, once more had recourse to deceit. The defeated army having taken refuge in their fortresses, he swore to them to guarantee what he had formerly promised in the name of the Persian monarch, and by this means induced many to come out of their strong holds. Immediately on their falling into his hands, he perfidiously and cruelly put them to death. Vasak also succeeded in getting St. Joseph, and a few other priests, into his power, whom he loaded with irons. He then marched against Himayak, the brother of Vardan, who was at the head of a few troops in the country of the Taics. Himayak was defeated, taken prisoner, and barbarously martyred. The Persians then divided themselves into several detachments, and proceeded to ravage the country. The Armenians, driven almost to despair by the daily outrages committed on them, at length flew to arms, in a body, and furiously attacking the spoilers, completely defeated them, taking numbers of prisoners. Incited by resentment, they made incursions into Persia, where they burnt down many towns and villages. Mushcan Neusalavurt, the Persian general, alarmed at this unforeseen turn of

affairs, and unable to make head against the exasperated Armenians, wrote to Hazkert, informing him of the recent circumstance, and imputing the whole of these misfortunes to Vasak. The Persian monarch, grieved at the unexpected condition of his army, consulted with Mihrnerseh, and then sent directions to Mushcan Neusalavurt, to endeavour to appease the Armenians, by promising them, on oath, in his name, to forbear henceforward persecuting them on account of their religion. He ordered him also to appoint Atrormizd prefect, and then to return to Persia.*

CHAPTER IV.

The prefectures of Atrormizd and Atirwushnasp; and the period between the pontificates of Melitey, and Johan the Mandakunian.

ATRORMIZD Arshacan, being appointed to the prefecture of Armenia, commenced his government by sending the following individuals bound in fetters into Persia; viz. St. Joseph, Isaac, bishop of the Rushtunians, the priests Mushey, Samuel, Abraham, Levond and Arshen; some of their scholars, among whom was Khoren and A. D. 451.

* See Hist. Book III, c. 2—13.

Abraham, with the deacon Cajaj. He imagined by this measure to have inflicted a severe wound on christianity, by suspending the exertions of its most zealous defenders. On the arrival of these devoted victims in Persia, they were tortured on the rack by order of Mihrnerseh, and confined in the common criminal gaol. Vasak, shortly after their departure from Armenia, went to Persia, in hopes of there receiving from the king a splendid reward for his diabolical exertions. Shortly after this, the Prefect wrote to all the bishops and chiefs dispersed about Armenia, inviting them to the open profession of their religion, by making known to them the will of Hazkert. He then urged the more distinguished chiefs to renounce all fear, and go to visit the king, where every thing might be put into order by treaty. They consented to the proposal of the Prefect, on receiving from Hazkert an oath, guaranteeing their safety. Previous to their setting out in their journey, having no hopes of St. Joseph ever more returning to Armenia, they directed a meeting of bishops to be held in the city of Duin, for the election of a pontiff.

A. D. 452. The assembly having taken place, the choice of the clergy and the nation fell upon Melitey from Manazkert, who forthwith assumed the pontifical dignity. He established his chair in Duin, in the year of our Lord 452. After govern-

ing the church for a period of five years, he died. On the election of Melitey, the chiefs set out for the court of Persia. Mihrnerseh at first received them with much outward respect and honour, but quickly changing his demeanour, caused them to be arrested and thrown into the gaol where the priests were confined. Here they were tormented in various ways, to force them to embrace the Persian religion. Just about this period Hazkert, having considered the charges before alleged against the wretched apostate Vasak, found him guilty, divested him of all his power, and committed him to prison. Here he died a most miserable death, after proving the most bitter and successful foe that had ever taken arms against his country.* His son-in-law, the apostate Varazvalan, was appointed by the king his successor, as chief of the Seunies. This individual was tormented, it is said, by an evil spirit, and strangled himself. The vile Vazgen, governor of the Georgians, at this time in Persia, and an apostate, on his return to Georgia proved a great tyrant. He was continually urging his wife, St. Susana, the eldest daughter of Vardan, to embrace the Persian religion, and on her determined refusal, he tormented her for a period of six years, when she perished through her sufferings, A. D. 458.

* See Hist. Book III, c. 14, 15.

A. D. 454. Some time after, Hazkert engaged in a war with the Huns, and on his setting out with his army against that people, he directed the imprisoned Armenian chiefs and priests to be conveyed in irons to the castle of the city of Neushapuh, and there made over to the charge of the chief of the Magi, in order that they might be allowed no ease. The chief Magus, in his endeavours to make them quit their religion by torments, observed that the hand of the Almighty was stretched forth for their protection, and became a proselyte to christianity. He beheld in a vision the blessed saints, the Vardanians, surrounded by the glory of God, and rejoicing at his conversion. Hazkert was unfortunate in his expedition against the Huns, who routed him and his troops. Enraged at the disgrace of being beaten, the king consulted his Magi, who assured him that his defeat was without doubt owing to his not having put to death the imprisoned priests, who had overturned the altars of the Persian gods. "Hence," said they, "the wrath of our gods is kindled against you." When Hazkert heard this, he immediately caused the priests Samuel and Abraham, whom he had taken with him on his expedition, to be brought out and tortured to death. He then sent Denshapuh to the castle of Neushapuh, to dispatch those confined

there. On his arrival at Neushapuh he took the captive priests, and bringing them to a distant place, he there martyred them, on the 25th of Hirotiz (July), A. D. 454.

An individual of the name of Khujik, who was secretly a christian, buried their bodies. Levond the priest, being the most distinguished among these martyrs, they were henceforward called Levondians. Denshapuh also tortured two of their pupils, Khoren and Abraham, and caused them to be driven into Assyria.

In the meantime the Armenian chiefs, who had A. D. 455. come into Persia under the most solemn assurances of safety, languished in a deep and gloomy dungeon, exposed to all the vicissitudes of heat and cold, without bedding of any description; scantily fed, and at times enduring the extremities of hunger and thirst. They bore all without murmuring, confiding in the omniscience of the Most High. The ruthless Hazkert still added to their miseries, by tormenting them, through the medium of Mihrnerseh, on account of their religion, offering to restore them to their country and families, with power and honour, if they would turn to the faith of the Magi. But all was ineffectual; they remained stedfast in their attachment to those doctrines which their ancestors had perished in defending.

After a confinement of four years, they were A. D. 456.

at length released, through the intercession of Shilomshapuh, a Persian prince, but were not permitted to leave the capital. Ashusha, prince of the Gugars, by the assistance of Mihrnerseh, obtained from the king the release of Vahan, Vasak, and Artaces, the three sons of Himayak, the brother of Vardan, and took them with him to his country, where they were brought up in the fear of God, by their mother Zivick, who was the sister of Ashusha's wife. The youngest son of Himayak, named Vard, was still in the hands
A. D. 457. of his nurses in the country of the Taics. Some time after this Hazkert died, and was succeeded in the Persian throne by his youngest son Phiroz. This prince, immediately after his succession, considerably alleviated the condition of the Armenian chiefs, by allowing them pensions, which enabled them to live more at their ease, and having found them in many instances faithful and trustworthy, he restored them to Armenia. This occurred in the eighth year of his reign, A. D. 464. He also appointed a new Prefect, with whom the chiefs set out on their return to their country.

A. D. 464. The new Prefect, appointed by the king of Persia to supersede Atrormizd, was named Atirwushnasp, and he governed the Armenians for a period of seventeen years. On the arrival of the chiefs in Armenia, they united with each

other in the practice of every christian virtue, and became eminent for the piety their conduct evinced. Their hearts, however, were oppressed, when, on looking around, they observed many of the other chiefs, with the view of courting the favour of the Persians, openly worshipping the sun, and erecting temples for the adoration of fire. A circumstance which had a powerful tendency to extend the evil was, the power which some of these unworthy chiefs attained by their apostacy. Other individuals, seeing the advantages to be obtained by embracing the Persian religion, followed the example set them by those whom we have noticed.

They, however, suffered in other respects: for in renouncing their religious faith, it appeared by their actions as if they had renounced every virtue that distinguishes one man above another; they became so base and cowardly, that king Phiroz often said, "In my dominions I find the Armenians more worthless than the Syrians."

While the Armenians were in this condition, the Huns made incursions into the regions about Arzakh, where they committed dreadful cruelties, on account of religion. They martyred Athanas, the pupil of St. Isaac, and a lady of the name of Regina, but miracles having followed their deaths, many of the Huns were converted, and afterwards suffered martyrdom.*

* See Hist. Book III, c. 18.

Let us now observe the changes that had taken place in the pontificate.

A. D. 457. Melitey, the pontiff, in the fifth year of his spiritual sway, and before the release of the chiefs confined in Persia, died, and was succeeded by Moses the First. The latter enjoyed his dignity eight years, and then followed his predecessor.

A. D. 465. The successor of Moses was Geut, a disciple of St. Isaac and St. Mesrop, from the village of Arahez, in the province of the Taics. He was a pious man, and eminent for wisdom and knowledge of the sciences. He was a great proficient in Greek literature, and, upon the whole, a great ornament to the pontificate. Although at his election he was nearly seventy years old, he set about correcting the disorders which had crept among his people, with admirable zeal and ardour. He was also not sparing of admonition and reproof to the profligate, where he had an opportunity of noting their vices. This created him enemies, and one of them, Gadishew the Corcorunian, carried a complaint against him to

A. D. 472. the king of Persia. Phiroz hereupon sent for Geut, and having examined the deeds which had distinguished his pontificate, found nothing worthy of reprehension. He, however, tempted the pontiff to embrace the Persian religion, and on his expressing his indignation at the proposal,

the king ordered him to be removed from the pontificate, and another individual, named Christopher, to be elected in his stead. Geut afterwards returned to Armenia, where he died, after living in retirement two years. He was buried in the village of Othmis, after he had governed the Armenian church ten years, during which time he had regulated the ceremonies anew, and made many improvements.

Christopher the Arzrunian was appointed pontiff by Phiroz the king of Persia, in the room of Geut, and died after remaining in that dignity five years. During his pontificate Barzumah, bishop of Nisibis, began to spread abroad in Persia the Nestorian heresy. Christopher, on coming to the knowledge of this evil, wrote to all the provinces to beware of admitting it. On Barzumah attempting to disseminate these doctrines in Armenia, he was expelled from his diocese by Nershapuh the Arzrunian. A. D. 475.

Johan the Mandakunian, from the village of Zalnot in the province of the Arshamunians, a fellow disciple with Geut, was appointed to succeed Christopher at the age of seventy-five. He was an estimable character, and materially improved the church ordinances, particularly that respecting ordination. He also corrected the book containing the directions for celebrating the sacrifice of the altar. He composed A. D. 480.

many sermons and collects, and his prayers are the most excellent in use with the Armenians. He also wrote many essays, alike distinguished for their sound sense and exemplary piety. During the sway of these pontiffs, we have last noticed, saints Elishey, Moses Chorenensis, and some others, were still in existence, but seeing the dreadful disorders that pervaded the country, they retired some to convents, others to deserts, where they engaged themselves in religious studies, and in composing and translating various books. For particulars of which see History Book II, c. 60.

CHAPTER V.

The exploits of Vahan the Mamiconian.

A. D. 466. HIMAYAK, the brother of Vardan the Great, had four sons, Vahan, Vasak, Artaces, and Vard. The last, as we have before remarked, resided in the country of the Taics, the other three were in the frontiers of the Gugars. The three brothers, on hearing of the restoration of the faithful Armenian chiefs to their country, quitted Gugars, and returned to Taron their birth-place. Here they grew in wisdom and valour, and became esteemed by all who knew them. Vahan, the eldest, however, outshone the

others, and indeed excelled all the chiefs of Armenia. He was particularly distinguished for mildness of disposition, extraordinary wisdom, and unconquerable bravery. He was looked upon by all with admiration, and distinguished with the peculiar favour of the prefect Atirwush-nasp. The more, however, his virtues rendered him beloved by the good, the more they stirred up malice in the minds of the bad. He was, however, regarded by Gadishew the Corcorunian with more than ordinary dislike. This individual, detesting the sight of Vahan, conspired with others, as worthless as himself, to write joint accusations against him to Phiroz the king of Persia. "Vahan," said they, "meditates a rebellion, and is endeavouring to excite the people to an insurrection against the Persian power."

Vahan, perceiving the machinations of his enemies, and fearing that a plot would at some time or other be laid against his life, was so exasperated, that he resolved on a step which afterwards was the cause of bitter affliction to him. Acting on this decision, he immediately proceeded to the Persian court, and having been introduced into the presence of Phiroz, there made a voluntary profession of the religion of the Magi. The king was much pleased at the action, and bestowed on him considerable honours. A. D. 478.

Phiroz, however, apprehensive of the soundness of his profession, would not permit him to return to Armenia before he had caused his youngest brother Vard to be taken from the country of the Taics, and brought into Persia. This being complied with, Vard remained with the king as an hostage, and Vahan returned invested with the power and dignity of the royal agent.

A. D. 479. On his arrival among his friends, Vahan began to regret the step he had taken, and his former acquaintances avoided him as a pest. Thus he passed his life most miserably, bemoaning the act of folly and sin he had committed. The chiefs, whom we designate the faithful, on account of their memorable stand in defence of their religion in the Persian dungeons, on hearing of the weakness of Vahan, became alarmed, and censured his improper conduct most severely. The apostates, who before hated him on account of his virtues, now doubly detested him, in consequence of the favour with which he was distinguished by the king. They therefore did not cease speaking ill of him. Thus had Vahan by one unguarded act forfeited the esteem and love of his friends, and sharpened the envy and malice of his enemies. He, however, was quite insensible to one or the other, being dreadfully tormented by his conscience for the evil he had done.

He at length wished for death, and thus addressed Christ in prayer to grant him what he desired; "All things," said he, "are possible to thee, my God. I throw myself upon thee, do thou help me, and shew me the way in which I should go. Grant me a time of repentance, and of confession, that I may glorify thee." He disclosed the desire of his heart to the faithful chiefs, who encouraged him to cleanse publicly from his character the foul blot cast on it by his apostacy. This he determined to do, waiting for a fit opportunity of carrying his intention into execution. King Phiroz, about this time, A. D. 481. went to war with the Hephthals. He, therefore, sent orders to the prefect Atirwushnasp to assemble troops in Armenia to assist him, and to proceed with them and the chiefs of that nation to the country of the Aluans, there to oppose the enemies should they attempt to make incursions. Half of the troops collected were apostates. These grievously molested the faithful during the expedition, provoking and insulting them, by calling them unbelievers and traitors. At the conclusion of Phiroz's operations against the Hephthals, the Armenians returned to their country, and encamped on the plains of Shirak, divided into two columns, one composed of the Persian detachment and the apostates, the other of those who had remained

faithful to their religion, and headed by their chiefs. The camps of these two bodies were distinct, some distance lying between them.

Previously to their disbanding, some of the pious chiefs, who had been disgusted and grieved with the conduct of their apostate countrymen, secretly met, and said to each other, "Now is the time for a bold effort to deliver our country from the hand of the Persians and apostates. Let us join with Valthank, the king of Georgia, or with the Huns, or Greeks, and attack them. The Almighty, seeing the purity of the motives that inspire us, will smile upon our exertions; for we do not engage in this enterprise for personal aggrandizement, but for the purpose of saving our holy church from falling under the power of the worshippers of fire." All being unanimous in these sentiments, disclosed their desires to Vahan. He, overjoyed at the opportunity that offered itself for publicly recanting his apostacy, replied, "Your wishes exactly agree with mine, but I scarcely dare join with you, because I have observed how often enterprizes of this nature are baulked by treason. Let us not apply to strangers for aid, for they may betray us. Let us place all our trust in God, for he alone disposes of events." The chiefs, on hearing this, declared, "We place no confidence in ourselves, nor in others; but in the

power of God alone; for which we pray to St. Gregory and the blessed martyrs to intercede for us; for we prefer instant death to the pain we feel in observing the daily disgraces put on our church." When Vahan heard them talk of death, he felt more inspired with devotion to the cause, and was determined to shed every drop of his blood in defence of Christ and his faith. All being agreed, they prayed fervently for aid to the Almighty, and committed to his hands the issue of their enterprize. There being a priest of the name of Athik in their camp, they called him, and made him administer to them an oath on the Holy Testament, that they would act according to the doctrines it contained, and cheerfully die in its defence. This being done, they retired to their tents. Unfortunately, the prediction of Vahan respecting treason in this affair was verified. One of the chiefs of the combined party, named Varazshapuh, from the tribe of the Amatunians, went that night to the camp of the Prefect, and disclosed the design to all who were there present. The men were confounded, and in the dawn of the morning, in haste and terror marched to the city of Ani, where they stopped during the day. In the following night they prosecuted their flight, and took refuge in the castle of Artashat. The united party, when they discovered the retreat of their

enemies, pursued them, and captured a few who had loitered in the rear, among whom was the infamous Gadishew, the Corcorunian. These were sent to the city of Duin. The combined chiefs then hastened to lay siege to the castle of Artashat. The Prefect, however, with a few adherents, effected his escape thence in the night, and fled to the regions of Atropatia. The Vahanians, as we shall henceforward call the united party, discovering this, left Artashat and went to Duin, where they elected a new Prefect and began to prepare for war.

CHAPTER VI.

The exploits of the Vahanians against Atirwushnasp, in the prefecture of Isaac the Bagratian.

A. D. 481. The Vahanians having observed that Atirwushnasp had quitted Armenia, raised to the prefecture Isaac the Bagratian noble. This individual had greatly distinguished himself for some time previous to this, by his eminent skill and courage, and on this account the chiefs had elected him their prefect. It was at his special request, that Moses Chorenensis wrote the history of Armenia. Vahan the Mamiconian was appointed general of the Armenian

army, the chiefs swearing to obey him in every thing appertaining to war. In the meantime the apostate chiefs, who had accompanied Atirwushnasp in his flight, strongly advised him to hasten to the attack of the Vahanians, before they had time to finish their preparations. The fugitive Prefect, acting upon their suggestions, gathered an army from the country of Atropatia, and elsewhere, amounting to 7,000 men, with which he immediately marched into Armenia. The invaders crossed the river Arax, and prepared to enter Nakhjuan. When the Vahanians were informed of the advance of their enemies, they held a council, and resolved to leave Isaac the prefect, Vahan the general, Vahan the Camsaracan, and a few other chiefs, in Duin, to protect it in case of exigency, while the remainder, amounting to no more than 400 men, proceeded to meet the invaders. Previous to their setting out, these gallant and faithful Armenians entered the church of the city, and there solemnly devoted themselves to the service of their country and religion. They then advanced to the village of Varazkert, where they halted and sent forward Vasak, the brother of Vahan the general, with a few men, to the village of Curwak, to reconnoitre the enemy and discover his force. On the dawn of the next morning, Atirwushnasp arrived with his

troops at Curwak, not knowing that Vasak was there. When the Persians perceived the Armenians so near them, they became greatly alarmed. Vasak was also apprehensive that he should not be able to make a clear escape with his men. He summoned them together, and directed them to make away in small parties of two or three, and hasten with all practicable expedition to join their army. To give them more time to effect their escape, he sent messengers to Atirwushnasp, saying, "I have a communication to make to you from the Armenians, which, if you will receive, it is probable that peace may be restored." Atirwushnasp replied, "I can receive no communication from rebels with arms in their hands." Vasak sent again to him, begging to be permitted to deliver his mission. On the dispatch of the last messenger, perceiving all his men were clear, he mounted his horse, and addressing some Persians who had come to the village on business from the Prefect, said, "The messages I have sent to your master were only meant to ridicule him. I had no communication to deliver; my only object was to see what kind of people you are; and I have found you a foolish and worthless set, and I predict that much evil will befall you." Having said this, he left them, and fearlessly pursued his way back to Varazkert, where, having arrived, he related

to his friends what had happened, and concluded by saying, "The Persians are indeed more numerous than we, but many of them are entirely useless." The Armenians then set forward, and encamped near the village of Akorey, at the foot of Mount Ararat, and having heard that the enemy would arrive there the next day, they made preparations to receive them, after having fervently prayed to God. In the dawn of the morning they divided their little band into four divisions. The first occupying the centre and composed of 100 men, was placed under the orders of Vasak the Mamiconian and Babken the Seunian. The second also of 100 men, forming the right wing, was commanded by Atom the Gnunian, and his brother Arastom. The third, of equal strength, formed the left wing, and was confided to Garjoile Malkhazuni. The fourth composed a body of reserve, and was headed by Nerseh the Camsaracan and his brother Hirahat, who received directions to render assistance at all points.

The Persians at length arrived, and perceiving the small number with which they had to contend, exclaimed, "Surely these Armenians have abandoned their senses, and are come in quest of death!" They then began the attack, the more able horsemen advancing first, followed by those of inferior skill.

At the moment when the conflict commenced, the infamous Garjoile Malkhazuni, with his 100 men, deserted to the Persians; thus leaving only three hundred to dispute the fight with the enemy. The Armenians, perceiving this act of treachery, were inspired with the greatest fury, and calling upon God for aid, rushed impetuously on their foes. Nothing could withstand their enthusiasm. Wherever they appeared they spread destruction, and the Persians finding how unavailing all their efforts were, took to flight. Atirwushnasp fell by the hand of one in the body commanded by Babken. Atom, at the head of his men cut down numbers, and took Gudihon the apostate prisoner. He was proceeding to put him to death when Babken the Seunian came up and saved him, in consequence of having formerly received a particular favour at his hands. The traitor Garjoile Malkhazuni, having rallied the troops of Catashes, advanced from the rear, and began a furious attack on his betrayed countrymen. Having succeeded in taking a prisoner, he directed him to be put to death; but his cries brought to the spot Nerseh and Hirahat with a few men, who attacking the troops of Catashes, put them to flight, after killing their leader. The victorious Armenians, seeing the field clear, returned to their camp, having suffered in this glorious encounter the

loss of only one man killed, as we have observed, by Garjoile Malkhazuni.

They offered praise and thanksgiving to God for the success he had given them in this memorable battle. Whilst they were thus engaged, and rejoicing at the defeat of their enemies, two Armenians, Vargosh Gunthuney, and Vasak Saharuney, who had deserted their ranks during the fight, arrived at the city of Duin, and informed the pontiff Johan and others, that the Armenians had been entirely overthrown by the Persians, and that they alone had escaped. When the inhabitants of the city learned this news, they were plunged into the deepest affliction. While mourning pervaded all hearts, Arastom the Gnunian arrived, and raising his voice, exclaimed, "The power of the holy cross has conquered, and will ever conquer!" He then gave a circumstantial account of the late contest, which inspired the people with rapturous joy. They immediately assembled in the church, and there offered up their gratitude to the Most High for the signal favour he had vouchsafed them. While they were engaged in this act of devotion, the gallant little band, the subject of it, arrived, when all joined in glorifying God. The Vahanians immediately after sent ambassadors to Valthank, king of Georgia, claiming the performance of a promise he formerly made them, to assist their

enterprize with his troops, and others taken from the Huns. But he delayed until the Armenians began to despair of receiving assistance from any quarter. They therefore placed their only hopes in God; and prepared to prosecute the undertaking they had so succesfully begun in his name.

CHAPTER VII.

Proceedings of the Vahanians against Salar Atirnerseh.

A. D. 482. THE brave Vahan, seeing the success that had attended the contest with the Persians, sent messengers to the four great Armenian tribes, the Arzrunians, the Anzevazies, the Rushtunians, and the Mockazies, some of whom had, through fear of the Persians, adopted the worship of fire; inviting them to join the united party, and combat manfully for the christian church. Most of them rejected the invitation; two nobles, however, named Johan Anzevazie and Nerseh the Erwandunian, being well inclined to the terms of Vahan, persuaded many of their followers to accompany them to join the troops of the united party. On their setting out for this purpose, two great chiefs, Sevuk, prince of the Anzevazies, and

Johan, prince of the Mockazies, being displeased with their conduct, pursued them with a number of men, and overtook them at the village of Arest, where a combat between the two parties ensued. The advocates of christianity were so few, that they were surrounded by their enemies; yet they fought, confiding in God, most courageously. Johan Anzevazie having attacked the chief of the Mockazies, killed him with a dart of his spear. This chief had often before ridiculed Johan, by saying of him, "He is good for nothing. He ought to have a yoke put on his neck, and be worked like an ox." Sevuk, the other chief, used to answer, "I will bring the yoke; do you put it on his neck if you can." The scoffer, however, was justly rewarded for his contemptuousness, being killed by the object of whom he thought so meanly. Sevuk, the other apostate chief, and his men, when they heard of the death of Johan Mockazie, took to flight. They were pursued, and many of them slain. The victors then proceeded to Duin, where they were joyfully met by the Vahanians. King Phiroz, when he heard of the events we have just detailed, became extremely irritated against Vahan, and taking his brother Vard, who it will be recollected was an hostage in Persia, put him in bonds. He then collected a considerable force, and dividing it into four

detachments, sent them, in the beginning of spring, into the regions of Hier and Zarwand, with directions to take Vahan alive, and put the rest of his party to death. The command of these troops was given to Atirnerseh Salar, a renowned warrior. When Vahan heard of the arrival in Armenia of such a multitude of enemies, he summoned his chiefs to hold a council at Duin, at which Johan the pontiff was present. Here, having met and consulted, he assembled his troops, comprising a very small number, and accompanied by the holy pontiff, set out to meet the enemy. He was unwilling to leave the man of God behind, placing great hope in the efficacy of his prayers. The little patriotic army arrived at the village of Nersehapat, in the province of Artaz, where they encamped; being but a short distance from the camp of the Persians. Early the next morning Vahan formed his troops into three divisions. The centre was given to Isaac the prefect; the right wing to Barshel Vahevuney, aided by Babken the Seunian, Atom the Gnunian, and Phapak Paluney; the left to Nerseh the Camsaracan, and his brothers Vahan and Hirahat, aided by the general's brother Vasak. Vahan, with a select few, reserved himself to afford assistance to all parts where it might be required, and was seconded by Viren Vanandensis and Pap Artacuney.

These arrangements being made, each took his post and calmly awaited the enemy, then at some distance. At sunrise the battle commenced. The Persians advanced to the charge of the right wing of the Armenian army, and put it to flight. At this juncture Isaac the prefect engaged the Persian general Atirnerseh Salar in single combat. Having ineffectually thrown their spears at each other, they joined hand to hand, and a furious struggle ensued. After wrestling for a considerable time, and mutually exchanging several violent blows, the Persian was exhausted, and thrown from his horse; but through the confusion that prevailed, succeeded in escaping amongst the crowd. Vahan, having observed the confusion into which his army was thrown by the defeat of his right wing, called out to Viren Vanandensis to advance to the charge. The latter replied, "Do not confide in me in an hour like this." Vahan, on hearing this, sealed himself with the sign of the cross, and darted into the right wing of the Persian army with the speed and fury of a thunderbolt. Here he was nobly seconded by the two brothers Nerseh and Hirahat the Camsaracans. These three quickly threw the ranks of the enemy into disorder, cutting them down with immense slaughter. They then passed to the left wing, where their foes fell before them like

ripe fruit shaken by a high wind. One of the four Persian generals, Vin Khorian, a powerful man, with his guards, sustained undauntedly the glory of his nation, and boldly kept his ground. This being observed by Vishnasp, another of the Persian generals, he marched to attack the Armenians on their weakest side. At this moment the brave Vahan encountered Vin Khorian, and after a sharp combat stretched him on the plain. Vishnasp was then attacked by Nerseh the Camsaracan, and killed by a thrust of his spear. The Armenians, led by Barshel, who had been defeated and put to flight by the first charge of the Persians, now looking back and seeing the Persians were beaten, returned and joined in the pursuit of the fleeing enemy. More were killed in their flight than they had left on the field. The victors, on their return to the Persian camp, found immense spoil, which they divided amongst each other, returning thanks to God for their success. They then went to the village of Nersehapat, where they had left the holy pontiff, and with him retired to a place called Varshakie in the province of Zalcote. Here they took rest, being all filled with joy and triumph.

While the Vahanians were enjoying the pleasing reflection which followed their victory, news reached them that Vard had miraculously

escaped from Persia: scarcely had they had time to think upon this intelligence, when Vard himself, with his attendants, joined them. It appeared that he actually did not know by what means he had been extricated from the Persian bonds. Vahan was overjoyed at this unexpected circumstance, particularly as he knew by it, that God had forgiven his apostacy. For on his uniting with the others in the enterprize in which they were now engaged, he had said in his mind, "Now, if God is pleased at my thoughts, and has forgiven the sin of my apostacy, I beseech him quickly to let me see my beloved brother Vard." His brother Vasak had also entreated from the Almighty first to let him see his brother Vard, and then quickly to make him worthy to receive the crown of martyrdom. A short time after Vasak had his wish; he was put to death on account of religion.

CHAPTER VIII.

The treachery of Valthank the Georgian, and the actions of the Vahanians against Mihran.

WHILE the Armenians were remaining in Varshakie, they received ambassadors from Valthank the king of Georgia, falsely informing them that his country was invaded by a large A. D. 482.

army of Persians, under the command of Mihran; and deceitfully calling upon them for aid to repel the invaders.

The statements of the ambassadors were not true, as we have said, for at that period Mihran was not in Georgia, neither would he have ever gone there, unless he had been invited by Valthank. The Armenians, not doubting the truth of the tale related them by the ambassadors, and being bound by treaty to afford assistance to the Georgians in time of need, prepared to set out to succour their ally. First, however, they put their property into places of security. On the arrival of the Vahanians in Georgia they were met by Valthank, who assured them that the Huns would speedily arrive to join him against Mihran. To prevent their detecting his falsehood, he amused them with many excuses for not marching immediately against the foe, and sent people to kindle fires on the adjacent plains, to endeavour to convince them that the Huns were arrived. He also made the trunks of trees in a forest appear like armed men, and then incited the Armenians, by means of treacherous spies, to go and attack them, saying, "They are waiting for you." The Vahanians, not suspecting the artifice of the king, went toward the spot where they supposed the enemy to lie, but discovered no one. This

rendering them somewhat irresolute, Valthank invented many stories to deceive them, and persuaded them to pitch their camp near the river Cur. Here, after a delay of three days, Mihran at length arrived, with an immense force, accompanied by elephants, chariots, and armed cavalry, from various nations. He pitched his camp opposite to that of the Armenians: who when they saw the vast superiority of numbers against them, became alarmed, and crossing the river Cur encamped on the opposite bank. Many of the united army, seized with terror at the anticipation of the approaching contest, sent and made terms with the Persians, whom they joined. On the following day, Vahan with his troops having taken courage, recrossed the river, and took post near the enemy's camp. He arranged his men in order of battle, and both armies rushed to the attack. Vahan, confiding in God, and seconded by the Camsaracans, cut down all who opposed him. Many of the distinguished Persian chiefs fell by his hand, and he was dreaded by the whole of the enemy's troops. During the heat of the conflict, Isaac the prefect, who had wholly devoted himself to Christ and the church, after performing many acts of valour, fell a martyr. Vasak, the brother of Vahan, in an encounter with a Persian, broke his spear against the armour of his opponent,

and, in seeking for another on the field, was surrounded by a host of swordsmen by whom he fell, after killing a number of them in his defence. While these glorious commanders were thus valiantly contending, several vile and treacherous Armenians, who were in secret understanding with the Persians, all of sudden pretended to take flight, crying out, "Save yourselves, the day is lost!"

This action of a party of perfidious cowards occasioned the Vahanians to lose the battle, for most of those who heard the cry, thinking all lost, joined in the flight. Among these was the deceitful Valthank, with his Georgian troops. Vahan and the Camsaracans, observing this, found longer resistance fruitless, and therefore followed the fugitives. On their leaving the scene of action Vahan observed Babken the Seunian lying on the ground, in the midst of the dead bodies that covered the field, desperately wounded. Not being able to leave his old colleague to the vengeance of an irritated and cruel enemy, he alighted from his horse, took him up before him, and thus saved his life. The victorious Persians pursued the Armenians and killed many of them in their flight. Hirahat the Camsaracan was thrown from his horse in the retreat, and proceeding on foot was taken prisoner and carried to Mihran, who put him in

chains, and took him with him wherever he went. A valiant Seunian, of the name of Hazd, with several Georgians, was also taken that day, put in chains, and strictly guarded. Vahan the general, together with the two brothers, Nerseh and Vahan the Camsaracans, after the battle, retired to the village of Mucknarinj in the country of the Taics, where he was afterwards joined by others who had escaped from the battle, to the number of 100 men. Mihran, having learned where Vahan had taken up his residence, set out in pursuit of him, accompanied by his large army. In a short time he arrived near the village of Duin, where he pitched his camp. Vahan was posted at a short distance from this place. Mihran, when he learned this, aware of the desperate valour of his opponent, sent him proposals of peace, wishing again to bring him under subjection to the Persians. He replied, "If you will allow the Armenians a free and unmolested profession of their religion, we will in all cases obey the Persians. If you will not accept our subjection on these terms, we desire to say, that we consider it much better to die a glorious death in defence of christianity, than to live honoured by you in apostacy." While these negotiations were going forward, Mihran received an order from king Phiroz to return immediately to Persia; and was consequently

obliged to obey, setting out with Hirahat the Camsaracan, Hazd the Seunian, and many more captives in chains. When Nerseh the Camsaracan, the elder brother of Hirahat, heard that Mihran had taken his brother with him to Persia, he became deeply afflicted. Indeed, since the day of his brother's capture, he had known no ease nor comfort. At length, not being able to bear any longer the painful reflections which Hirahat's captivity induced, he put himself at the head of a few resolute men, and boldly followed Mihran's camp. He imagined, that by vigilantly watching the enemy's army, he might chance to see his brother, and by a brisk attack succeed in rescuing him, or, "at least," says he, "by meeting death, I shall obtain that repose which has been long a stranger to my breast!" The Persians having encamped near the village of Baguan, in the province of Bagrevand, Nerseh with his followers approached. In this village was a chapel of St. Gregory the Illuminator, to which Nerseh went, and thus offered up his prayers, "Oh! blessed St. Gregory! who didst dispel the gloom of iniquity from Armenia, I beseech thee to hear my prayers, and dispel the gloom with which sorrow has overshadowed my heart, by aiding me in my endeavours to procure the liberation of my unfortunate brother!" While

he was engaged in this act of devotion, behold, wonderful to relate, Hirahat appeared before him, having been released from the Persian bonds in a miraculous manner. Nerseh experienced an extasy of pleasure; and glorifying the Almighty for this signal instance of his favour, he returned to Duin, accompanied by his brother. They immediately went to the Pontiff to testify what God had done for them through the interposition of Saint Gregory. When Mihran discovered the escape of Hirahat, he immediately summoned Hazd, the other Armenian captive, into his presence, and urged him to renounce christianity and adopt the worship of the sun and fire. Hazd indignantly refused, when the cruel tyrant ordered him to be beheaded. His body, after the departure of the Persians from that place, was interred in the chapel of St. Gregory.

CHAPTER IX.

The acts of the Vahanians against Hazaravukht.

VAHAN the Armenian general, who, as we have before related, was posted with about 100 men in the village of Mucknarinj, on the retreat of Mihran beyond the frontiers of Armenia, pro- A. D. 483.

ceeded to Duin. In this city he had the pleasure of again meeting his old colleagues and rivals in glory, Nerseh and Hirahat. After rejoicing at the liberation of the latter, Vahan began to taste a little repose; the winter season, which then prevailed, obliging them all to remain in a state of inaction. In a few days after, several messengers arrived from Georgia, informing the Armenians that Isaac the prefect, and Vasak the noble, who, as we have related, fell in the late engagement with the Persians, were alive; and at that moment wandering about the mountains, being afraid to return to their country on account of their enemies, and expecting aid from the Vahanians. The falsehood of these assertions was sufficiently plain, yet to satisfy the wives and other relations of these deeply regretted chieftains, Vahan sent a small detachment of men under the command of Mushel the Mamiconian to go into Georgia, and seek in the direction specified by the messengers. Mushel, with his party set out, and after roaming about in the mountains and vallies until the spring, found no traces of them.

When the spring came forward the great Persian general Zarmihr Hazaravukht, joined by the apostate chiefs, with an immense army invaded Armenia, and marshalling his troops along the forests of Khosrovakert to the foot of

the mountain Girvez, advanced to the siege of Duin. Vahan, beholding the magnitude of the enemy's force, assembled his party, and thus addressed them, "The Persians only seek to encounter us, and if we withdraw from the city, they will follow us. It is easy for us to baffle all their efforts, by taking refuge in our strong holds, and by so doing we shall prevent all the horrors of the siege and sacking of Duin." All being agreed in the opinion of their leader, they first set about repairing and strengthening the fortifications of the capital, and then recommending themselves to the protection of the All Powerful, issued out in small parties of two and three to effect a retreat from the enemy. The Persians having blockaded the city on all sides, the Vahanians were obliged to cut their way through the thronged ranks of their opponents. This they did, after killing numbers, who ineffectually strove to cut them off. The Persians were amazed at this daring enterprize, and for a while were undecided how to act, fancying that the anger of the gods had descended upon them. Two of the Armenian chiefs, named Ordie Dimaxian, and Cajaj Saharuney, however, unfortunately fell in their attempt to secure the safety of Joban Mandakunian the pontiff, who, in the confusion that prevailed on the sudden attack of the Armenians, was surrounded by a host of

Persians. This being perceived by the two chiefs abovementioned, they hastened to his rescue, and fighting valiantly, opened a way through the enemy. On their pushing forward with the pontiff, they were unhappily killed, and Johan the Mandakunian himself received a severe wound, which bringing him off his horse, he lay among the slain, to all appearance dead. By the providence of God, however, the blessed pontiff a short time afterward, having recovered himself, found his way to the city, and by his presence there created as much joy at his escape as astonishment at the manner in which he had effected it. The Persian general Hazaravukht, irritated beyond measure at the unexpected escape of the Armenian chiefs, immediately set out in pursuit of Vahan, guided by the apostate Gudihon the Seunian. Vahan, in the meantime, with his adherents, took refuge in the fortress of Varairvar, in the province of Shalagom, which was situated in the part of Armenia belonging to the Greeks. Hazaravukht nevertheless continued his pursuit, and by forced marches quickly arrived at Varaivar, but nothing could exceed his vexation and surprise when he learned that the Vahanians had just left that place. Not being able to contain his resentment, he wreaked his fury on the innocent and defenceless inhabitants. He, however, found there the wives

of Nerseh and Hirahat the Camsaracans, whom he immediately seized and sent to his camp; directing them to be guarded with all suitable respect, and forbidding any violence to be attempted on their purity; as he conceived that their husbands, for their sakes, would at least make some sacrifices, and return to obedience to the Persian power. Just after this event Hazaravukht received an order from king Phiroz to march with his army into Georgia. He therefore was obliged to leave Armenia, after appointing one Shapuh, of the family of Mihran, prefect of that country; and leaving him in the district of Basen with 3,000 Persians, and Gudihon, chief of the Seunies, with his followers, to secure his government, and preserve it from any future attacks of Vahan and his party.

CHAPTER X.

Further acts of the Vahanians against Shapuh the Prefect.

Shapuh the Mihranian, immediately after A. D. 483. the departure of Hazaravukht, commenced his prefecture by endeavouring to conciliate the two Camsaracans, Nerseh and Hirahat. For this purpose he placed their wives, who as it will be recollected had been made prisoners, in a

fortress of the country of Basen called Bolberd, and then sent a message to their husbands, to forsake Vahan, and come to him, when he would restore them to their arms, and henceforward distinguish them with particular marks of his favour. To this they made the following very energetic reply, "Our actions and our labours are not directed to the attainment of worldly good, but to the establishment of the truth of our holy religion. In competition with this, our dearest object, we regard wives and children but in a very inferior view. We place our trust in the Almighty, that he will continue to preserve our wives in purity and chastity, and that he will, of his goodness, permit us again to embrace them, either in this world or in that which is to come!" Shapuh, on receiving this answer, was thrown into a violent rage, and redoubled his efforts to seize them; indeed he gave himself no rest in prosecuting this object. Having heard that they had gone with Vahan to the country of the Arshamunians, he instantly marched thither, and posted his troops in secret places along a river, expecting to take the Armenians by surprise. Vahan, however, by means of spies, discovered the ambuscade that had been laid for him. Having taken marks of the places where his enemies lay, he assembled a number of peasants, together with his own followers, and marched

with them by night to the attack. Having posted the peasants opposite the spot where the Persians lay, and given them weapons and shields to render the deception more perfect, he with his own men drew off. While the enemy were deliberating about attacking the peasants, whom they imagined to be the Vahanians, the latter, who had by a circuitous route come upon their rear, commenced a furious attack. All was instantly in the greatest confusion: the Persians, uncertain as to the characters and force of the assailants, dealt about their blows indiscriminately, by which many of their own men perished. They at length took to flight, leaving 600 men slain upon the field, 3,000 others hurrying off in the greatest terror and disorder. Vahan, in the dawn of the morning, marched to the village of Shithay and there halted. Shapuh, having rallied his troops, and procured a large reinforcement, again returned with double rage at his late defeat, determined either to conquer or perish.

When Vahan heard of the approach of the Persians, he arranged his little army, consisting of only a hundred men, and prepared for the fight. The enemy at length came in sight, and so vast appeared his force, that a panic seized the Armenians and they fled, leaving Vahan, the three Camsaracans, Nerseh, Hirahat and Vahan,

Mushel the Mamiconian, and a few other leaders, in all amounting to about thirty persons, to sustain the attack. When Shapuh, on his nearer approach, beheld the fewness of Vahan's followers, he made a halt, and addressing Gudihon, chief of the Seunies, exclaimed, "Support me, for I am overpowered by the novelty of this spectacle. These, our opponents, either foolishly wish to sacrifice themselves, or are protected by an invisible power. But if I am not deceived, they have given themselves up to despair, and desire to die. We shall now catch them one by one and bind them with chains!" At the moment when the Persians again moved forward, one of Vahan's companions cried to him, "Beware, Sir, beware, of the consequences! recollect that even now we may flee and save ourselves!" But Vahan, having marked himself with the sign of the cross, replied in a loud voice, "Do not bid me beware, for I do not confide in man for aid, but place all my reliance on the blessed cross of our Redeemer." Having said this, he darted into the ranks of the Persians, like a hawk among a covey of small birds, and being bravely followed by the other chiefs, made a dreadful slaughter. Having passed through the enemy's army, shedding torrents of blood, these glorious warriors, with slow steps advanced towards their camp. Four of Vahan's party fell in this conflict.

These, having penetrated to the spot where the infamous apostate Gudihon, chief of the Seunies, was stationed, attacked him. One of them thrust at the wretch with his spear, which penetrated his armour, and entering at his arm-pit, went into his lungs. He fell headlong from his horse, and shortly after yielded up his sinful soul. The four Armenians were then surrounded, and after a most valiant resistance, in which numbers of the enemy fell, were killed. Shapuh the prefect, filled with shame at the result of the late combat, quitted the scene of his disgrace; and Vahan, to shew his contempt for the numbers of the Persians, accompanied with his twenty-six followers, marched in a careless manner, appearing as a small detachment of the Persian army. Shapuh retired to Basen, and was afraid to continue any longer before Vahan.

Here a messenger shortly after arrived, informing the Prefect of the ill news of the death of king Phiroz, who had been defeated and killed in an engagement with the Hephthals. Shapuh, upon the receipt of this intelligence, set out for Persia, where the grandees of that kingdom being assembled, appointed Valarsh, the brother of Phiroz, to the crown. This monarch was of a quiet, peaceful, and prudent turn of mind. Immediately after he ascended the throne, he held a council, and inquired into the state of Ar-

menia. Hereupon Hazaravukht, the general who had recently returned from Georgia, and Shapuh the Mihranian, detailed to him the gallant exploits of Vahan and his companions, which they witnessed with their own eyes, and advised the king to adopt conciliatory measures with regard to them, and even went so far as to suggest entrusting Vahan with the government of Armenia.

Valarsh and his ministers approving this advice, immediately appointed one Nikhor, surnamed Vishnaspdat to the prefecture. This individual owed his appointment to the character he bore, which was admirably suited for the duties of governor of Armenia, at this turbulent period. He was meek, mild, and just, and one who always sought to render every one, dependent on him, as happy as circumstances would permit. He departed for Armenia at the head of a large body of select troops; but received express orders to endeavour by mildness and kindness to bring to obedience the gallant Vahan and the remainder of the Armenian nation.

CHAPTER XI.

The reconcilation of Vahan with the Persians, through the medium of the prefects Nikhor and Andekan.

NIKHOR Vishnaspdat the prefect, on his arrival A. D. 484.
in Armenia, not daring to advance into the middle of the country, halted at the village of Nuarsak, in the province of Heir, and thence sent two of the Persian nobles to Vahan, to inform him of his object in coming thither. Vahan, having consulted with his faithful chiefs, returned a reply to the prefect couched in these terms, "We can come to no agreement with you by means of letters and messages; we must have a personal interview with the king, and obtain from him his assent to three conditions, which we now propose; if Nikhor will execute these under the hand and seal of the Persian monarch, we will in all cases prove obedient to the Persians; if not, we cannot submit. Now the first condition we propose, is, that we be allowed to profess openly the christian religion, wherever we choose; and that you do not attempt the conversion of any Armenian to the

doctrine of the Magi. The second is, that you favour none, nor exalt the base merely because they profess the worship of fire. The third and last is, that the king on all occasions hear both sides, and not hasten to judgment on the information of one party against another, without hearing the latter's defence." Vahan then sent back the messengers of Nikhor with honour, and dispatched with them five of his faithful chiefs as ambassadors on his part bearing the foregoing conditions. When these arrived at the Persian camp, the prefect received them with much respect, and supped with them. At every cup, during the repast, he drank the health of Vahan, mentioning his gallant exploits. Having agreed to perform the conditions specified in Vahan's reply, the Prefect, with the concurrence of the five chiefs, wrote to him by the hands of his former two messengers, inviting him to come to the Persian camp without fear, and promising to comply with his desires; nay, to do more than he had requested. Vahan then, with his few adherents, proceeded to the village of Elind, in the province of Artaz, where he halted, sending forward to inform Nikhor of his arrival, and saying, "If you desire that I should come to you, let some of your Persian nobles come over to my troops, as hostages for my safety, until the conclusion of this affair." The

prefect then dispatched eight noblemen to the Armenian camp, where they were received by Vahan with all due respect and honour, and made over to the charge of his troops. Vahan then, with a few men, and some of the most illustrious of the faithful chiefs, advanced to the village of Nuarsak, where Nikhor was encamped, and ordering his men to form in order of battle, commanded the war trumpets to sound a flourish. The prefect and his army, hearing this, were struck with fear, and said, "The Mamiconian has deceived us and is now prepared to destroy us." Nikhor then sent forward some of his chiefs to inform Vahan that he ought to have observed the custom of the Persians, which was, that none but the general dared to blow a trumpet in going to or quitting a place. Vahan replied, "First make me a servant of the lord of the Persians, then, and not till then, will I observe their customs." He then entered the village and met Nikhor. The latter was transported with joy on seeing him. He fell on his neck and embraced him. He also greeted him in the name of Valarsh the Persian king, and all the grandees. He likewise saluted the chiefs who had accompanied Vahan, and paid great attention to all his people.

When Vahan heard the royal greeting, he prostrated himself, and received it with the greatest respect. Nikhor then held a council, where

many things were addressed to Vahan, to which he invariably made bold and sensible replies, which made the Prefect exclaim, "Your bold and just language, Vahan, has removed every doubt from my mind, and rendered me perfectly content." The council being dismissed, all partook of an elegant supper.

On the following day, Nikhor, after having held a private conference with Vahan, ordered all those who had accompanied him to enter the court with the Persian chiefs. But the apostates were not suffered to approach the doors, on which account they were sadly confused; their faces resembling the ashes they worshipped. In this court Nikhor, with his chiefs, consented to all the desires of Vahan, and wrote all the particulars to king Valarsh, to whom they urged the Armenian chief to go, pledging themselves for his safety, as well as for the safety of those who might accompany him. Accordingly Vahan, having first visited the city of Duin, assembled his faithful chiefs and followers, and set out with them for Persia. On his arrival at court, he was received with much respect by all the grandees of the kingdom. On his introduction to king Valarsh, the latter testified the greatest pleasure on seeing him, and treated him in every respect as an equal. On the following day, a council was held, at which Vahan was present,

and received many compliments from the king. All consenting to the terms proposed by the Armenians, Valarsh ratified them by his hand and seal, issuing, at the same time, a decree that the present agreement with the Armenian christians should be considered by all his successors on the throne of Persia as irrevocable. The king then ennobled Vahan by the title of Lord of the Mamiconians, and appointed him generallissimo of the Armenians. Upon all the faithful chiefs, the colleagues and companions of Vahan, he also bestowed titles of nobility, on each according to his desert. Then, loading them all with magnificent presents, he sent them to their own country, where they arrived praising and glorifying God. They were, on their return, met by Johan the pontiff, who had come out of the city of Duin for that purpose, bearing the crucifix and relics of St. Gregory the Illuminator. He blessed them all with a joyful voice. All then proceeded to a church in the city of Valarshapat, and there offered up thanksgivings to God, for the success with which their exertions had been crowned.

From hence they repaired to Duin, where all retired in peace to their respective habitations. A new prefect was then sent into Armenia, named Andekan, a Persian, a prudent and peaceable character, who, on taking posses- A. D. 484.

sion of his office, noticed the wise pursuits of Vahan, in whose praise he wrote strongly to Valarsh. He was shortly after recalled, and on his arrival in Persia, represented to the king that Vahan alone was worthy to rule over Armenia; and that as long as he was in being, there would be no occasion to send another prefect to that country.

Valarsh, pleased at these reports, immediately sent ambassadors to Vahan, with letters patent, informing him of his nomination to the prefecture of Armenia.

CHAPTER XII.

The prefecture of Vahan, extending from the pontificate of Babken to that of Isaac the Second.

A. D. 485. VAHAN the Mamiconian, nephew of Vardan the Great, on receiving information of his appointment to the dignity of prefect, went immediately to Johan Mandakunian the pontiff, and with him repaired to the church of Duin, to offer up thanks to God for his exaltation. Numbers assisted at this solemnity, all glorifying the Almighty for his signal favours to the Armenian nation. The pontiff addressed the assembled people, and exhorted those who had continued firm in their faith, to persevere in

the same course, and adverted to others who had again returned to the bosom of the Church, after having been led away by the weakness of their minds. At the conclusion of his address, great weeping arose in the church; some weeping for joy, and others from repentance for their apostacy. Having all saluted Vahan, they separated, and he retired to his palace. He forthwith, with the concurence of the Persian monarch, appointed his brother Vard, a robust and valiant youth, to succeed him as general of the Armenians. He then set out on a tour to all the provinces, reforming abuses as he proceeded. Wherever he found fire-temples he razed them to the ground, and built churches in their room. From this period all began to exercise publicly the rites and duties of the Christian religion. Vahan, assisted by Johan the pontiff, repaired all the convents which had fallen into decay, and built many others. Over each he placed a virtuous government, and the whole were confided to the superintendence of Lazarus Pharpensis, a worthy servant of God.

Johan the Mandakunian, having been in the pontificate six years and a half, was translated to God, leaving behind him, as a memorial of his labours, a considerable number of prayers and sermons.

A. D. 487. Babken, from the village of Othmis, in the province of Vanand, a disciple of Johan Mandakunian, succeeded to the pontifical chair. Two years after, the relics of St. Gregory, the pontiff of the Aluans, were discovered by Vachacan, king of that people. Some short time after, the relics of St. Elishey, a disciple of St. Thaddeus the apostle, were also found among the Aluans.

During the pontificate of Babken, the two bishops, Abraham of the Mamiconians and Mushey of the Seunies flourished. The former composed, at the request of king Vachacan, several valuable treatises, particularly one which treats of the veneration due to holy relics and departed souls. The latter possessed eminent talents. His disciple and successor, Peter, bishop of the Seunies, became more celebrated than his master. At the request of Vachacan, mentioned above, he wrote many beautiful treatises; few however have been handed down to us.

A. D. 490. While Armenia was thus enjoying a little tranquillity, after the dreadful commotion which had so recently shaken her, some of the followers of Eutyches, endeavouring to bring the council of Chalcedon into disrepute, represented that it had received the doctrines of Nestorius. The partizans of this arch-heretic also endeavoured

to render him orthodox, by declaring that the above council had positively admitted his opinions, and that therefore it was unjust to condemn him. Whilst the Armenians were perplexed about deciding on these newly started opinions, some persons brought into the country a copy of a letter written by the Emperor Zeno, wherein the council of Chalcedon was condemned. Babken, having read this letter, and seeing it authenticated by the signatures of many bishops, adopted its contents as sound doctrine. In reality, it was perfectly orthodox, and agreed with the creed of the three holy councils, and in some measure with that of Chalcedon, yet the emperor rejected the latter. Different opinions, however, arising, A. D. 491. Babken convened a large meeting of bishops in the Armenian cathedral in the city of Valarshapat, which was also attended by the pontiff of the Aluans and the Georgians, with their bishops. Here, after anathematizing Nestorius and Eutyches, and their followers, they read Zeno's letter; and assenting to all it contained, they rejected the council of Chalcedon; it appearing plain that the Greeks did not acknowledge it. About this time Anastasius succeeded to the imperial throne, and perceiving that much confusion prevailed in the east about the council of Chalcedon,

issued a decree prohibiting all from speaking any more concerning it, either good or bad. The Armenians coming to the knowledge of this, said to each other, "If the Greeks do not acknowledge the council holden by themselves, what occasion have we to concern ourselves with it."*

A. D. 492. The year following the meeting at Valarshapat, Babken died, having enjoyed the pontificate five years. He was succeeded by Samuel, from the village of Arzkey, in the province of the Buznunians. Some time after, when the disputes that had arisen about the council of Chalcedon had a little subsided, the fire of religious persecution was again kindled by the Persians in Armenia.

Valarsh being dead, Cavat the son of Phiroz, his successor in the crown of Persia, despised the irrevocable decree which had been issued by the late monarch, respecting the agreement between the Armenians and Persians. Instigated by the Magi, he sent to Armenia a Persian governor, with a large force, accompanied by a number of ministers of their abominable religion. These, having entered the country by force, began to erect fire temples, in which they were assisted by many of their countrymen residing in Armenia. The more timid of the inhabitants were also allured to embrace the

* See Hist. B. III, c. 34.

worship of fire. In most parts, however, the greatest disgust was exhibited, and many publicly resisted their proceedings. Tumult and uneasiness pervaded the whole nation. When Vahan beheld A. D. 494. the renewal of those persecutions which had so often afflicted his unhappy country, he became extremely uneasy, and meditated a revolt from the Persian sway. Having joined with other chiefs, and procured troops, he attacked the governor and his army, and put them all to the sword, including the magistrate who had accompanied them. When Cavat heard of this, A. D. 496. he was furiously enraged, and longed for an opportunity to wreak his vengeance on the Armenians. Being, however, engaged in an enterprize against Greece, he suppressed his feelings, and made peace with them, consenting to leave them in the quiet exercise of their religion. It was, however, stipulated that they should not assist the Greeks, but that Vard, at the head of their army, should accompany him in his expedition against that people. All this being settled, Cavat marched to that part of Armenia belonging to the Greeks, and took the city of Amid. He also captured several cities in Mesopotamia, and then returned to Persia.

The Greeks, however, shortly after, having recovered the places they had lost, made peace with the Persians. Samuel the pontiff died

just after this event, having enjoyed his dignity
A. D. 502. only ten years. His successor was Mushey, from the village of Alberies or Aylaberies, who died after remaining in the pontifical chair
A. D. 510. eight years. Isaac the Second, from the village of Ulka, in the province of Harc, then became pontiff; and, in the first year of his sway over the Armenian church, Vahan the Mamiconian died, having attained a good old age, and presided in the prefecture twenty-six years. As he had been independent four years, his government is generally reckoned to have lasted thirty years. Vahan, perhaps, did more for the good of his country than any other individual who has lived before or since his time, whether he be considered as the champion of her church, the defender of her glory, or the improver of her internal condition.

CHAPTER XIII.

The prefectures of Vard and Mijej, extending from the pontificate of Christopher the Second, until those of Nierses Ashtarakensis, and Johannes the Second.

A. D. 511. On the death of Vahan the Mamiconian, his youngest brother Vard was appointed prefect, by Cavat the king of Persia. His sway was of

very short duration, for having excited enemies against himself, they carried accusations against him to Cavat, and applied for a Persian prefect. The Persian monarch having sent for Vard, deposed him from the government of Armenia, after he had possessed it four years. He subsequently fell sick and died in Persia. His remains were brought to Taron, and there interred. Burghan the Persian then became A. D. 515. prefect. He was a useless and effeminate character, and exercised his authority in the city of Duin for three years. In his prefecture, Isaac the pontiff died, having been at the head of the church five years.

Christopher the Second, from the village of Tiraruch, in the province of Bagrevand, then succeeded to the pontificate. At this period the Huns made an irruption into Armenia, and thence spread themselves over the regions of Cappadocia, where they committed dreadful depredations, burning the towns and villages, and spoiling the inhabitants. On their approaching the province of the Sasuns, Mijej, chief of the Gnunians, a brave and warlike character, gathered a few troops and attacked the spoilers. After a sharp contest he routed them with great slaughter, and drove them from that part of the country. He then united himself with several distinguished Armenian

chiefs, and collecting an army, made head against these invaders, whom he in a short time expelled from Armenia, and succeeded in tran-
A. D. 518. quillizing the country. These gallant exertions of Mijej being represented to Cavat, king of Persia, he was appointed to supersede Burghan in the prefecture. He proved by his subsequent conduct how worthy he was of this confidence, for he made many improvements in the kingdom, repaired all the dilapidated buildings, and applied himself assiduously to forward the welfare of the whole of his countrymen. In the fourth year of his government Christopher the pontiff died, having been in the pontificate six
A. D. 521. years. Levond, from the village of Little Erast, in the province of Arberaney, succeeded him,
A. D. 524. and died three years after. Nierses the Second, from the village of Ashtarak, in the province of Bagrevand, then became pontiff. Shortly after his election, Nierses, having observed some irregularities in the conduct of the priests, particularly those who resided in the villages, convened a meeting of bishops in the city of Duin, wherein were enacted thirty-eight rules, to be observed by the Armenian ecclesiastics.
A. D. 533. After continuing in the pontificate nine years, he died, and was succeeded by Johannes the Second, from the village of Seunzelin, in the province of the Gabelins. Several disturbances

took place at this period among the Armenians, in the part of the country subject to the Greeks, wherein much blood was shed. Justinian, who was then emperor, observing this, appointed Tachat, a warlike and skilful man, as their governor and general, who, on assuming his authority, re-established order amongst them. The emperor gave in marriage to this individual, Comitona, the sister of the empress Theodora. After this, Justinian caused many churches and convents to be erected in that part of Armenia called the Fourth, and which he also fortified. Many Armenian chiefs, among whom were Nerseh from Bolberd, in the country of Basen, his brothers Hirahat and Isaac, Johan Cosh, Gregory, Artashir, Johan the Arsacian, and his son Artavan, became greatly distinguished at the court of this emperor, by the display of their valour in his service; but of all the Armenians who distinguished themselves in those days, none equalled the celebrated Nierses the Noble, from the family of the lords of Armenian Major, for an account of whom see Hist. B. III, c. 42, 43. Just at the time when these individuals were in the highest consideration, the prefect Mijej the Gnunian died, after enjoying that dignity thirty years.

CHAPTER XIV.

The period between the prefectures of Denshapuh and Chihrvilon, and the pontificate of Moses, celebrated for having remodelled the Armenian calendar.

A. D. 548. On the death of Mijej, Khosrove, then king of Persia, sent to Armenia, as prefect, Denshapuh, a Persian. He renewed the old persecution of compelling the people to adopt the religion of the Magi, and harrassed them terribly on finding they resisted his wishes. For some time previous there had been only one fire temple in the city of Duin, but Denshapuh, on his arrival there, erected many others, and martyred a number of Armenians, who, with more spirit than the rest dared to expostulate or murmur. Among these glorious sufferers for the faith we particularly notice Gregory, of the tribe of Rajik. Whilst these vexations troubled the nation, Johannes the pontiff died, who had governed the Armenian church with credit and advantage seven-

teen years. He was succeeded by Moses the Second, from the village of Eliward, in the province of Aragazote, a man of profound knowledge and eminent virtue. This individual, immediately after his elevation to the pontificate, A. D. 551, assembled a meeting of bishops and considerable laymen in the city of Duin, where the Armenian calendar was new modelled and corrected. The Haican or Armenian era commences from this period. The date of the era of the new calendar is reckoned from the 552nd year of our Lord. In the following year, 553, the fifth general assembly was held at Constantinople, wherein the opinions of Theodore of Mopsuesta were condenned, on the words of a letter written by Isaac the Parthian to Procl, by the consent and advice of the Armenian fathers, assembled in the third council of Ashtishat.* A. D. 551.

Some individuals having endeavoured to disseminate the heresies of Julianus Halicarnensis in Armenia, Moses the pontiff caused them immediately to be banished from the country. A number of Magi having come with Denshapuh the prefect into Armenia, and together with him having dreadfully persecuted the inhabitants, in their attempts to convert them to the worship of fire, the pontiff applied to the Persian king for redress.

* See Hist. Book II, c. 59, and B. III, c. 41.

He implored him to give his unfortunate countrymen a little rest, and called to his recollection the guarantee of no future molestation, which one of his predecessors, Valarsh, had given the Armenians in the time of Vahan the Mamiconian; forbidding, at the same time, by a decree, the revocation of that act by any of his successors on the throne of Persia. Khosrove, acknowledging the justice of the pontiff's remonstrance, recalled Denshapuh, in the fourth year of his prefecture, and sent in his room Vishnas Vahram, who, immediately on assuming his authority, prohibited the Magi from further molesting the people. A son of the chief Magi, however, named Makhoj, having become a convert to christianity, on which occasion he took the name of Hiztibught, the new prefect was prevailed upon by the ministers of his religion to martyr him. This was the only act of severity that he committed during his prefecture, which lasted six years, during the whole of which time Armenia tasted the delights of peace. He was superseded by Varazdat, a Persian, who remained in the prefecture six years, and was replaced by Suren Chihr Vishnaspuhen, a relation of Khosrove the Persian monarch. This individual, immediately after assuming the government, renewed the old persecution; compelling many to worship the sun and fire, and filling the

A. D. 552. Haican era 1.

A. D. 558. Haican era 7.

nation with grief and mourning by the daily outrages he committed. There was at that time among the Armenian chiefs, a brave and warlike character, named Vardan the Second, a Mamiconian, the son of Vasak, and grandson of Vard. Of the exploits of this gallant patriot many panegyrics have been written by the Greek historians. The prefect Suren, in the course of his persecutions, had put Vardan's brother to death, which so incensed and grieved him, that he determined to make an attempt to relieve his country from the Persian yoke. For this purpose he conspired with other Armenian chiefs, filled with the same hatred of their tyrants as himself, and they resolved to seek assistance, in pursuing their object, from the emperor Justinian. Accordingly they sent ambassadors privately to that monarch, promising, if he would afford them aid, and in the event of their proving successful in their designs, to yield him the same tribute which they then paid the Persians, with other additional advantages. The emperor received these proposals, and consented, on oath, to take the Armenians under his protection. Vardan now emboldened by the promise of such powerful aid, gathered a few troops in Artashat, and suddenly advancing to the city of Duin, fell upon the prefect, his agent Vert, the Magi.

A. D. 570. Haican era 19.

A. D. 571. Haican era 20.

and the Persian troops who were there, and massacred every soul: this occurred in the seventh year of Suren's prefecture. When the news of this terrible event reached Persia, Khosrove the king became furious, and determined to march himself at the head of his troops, and extirpate the whole of the rebels. But Sebokht, a great Persian chief, a lover of peace and a most prudent character, succeeded in appeasing his anger. He persuaded the king to send him as an ambassador to the Armenians to endeavour to make them, by pacific measures, renounce obedience to the emperor. With this object in view he came to Armenia, but Vardan refused to let him enter the city of Dúin. Sebokht became extremely angry at this, and returning to Persia proved a great enemy to the Armenians, against whom he greatly sharpened the displeasure of Khosrove. Immense preparations were then made by the order of the king, to invade Armenia, which he determined to lay waste by fire and sword. Vardan, on being informed of this, immediately collected his troops, and dispatched spies to obtain information of the route the Persians would take, and what part of the country they would first attack. The Persians at length set out, and arrived on the plains of Khaghamakh. Vardan having due information of all their movements, on becoming apprised of

their situation here, prepared to attack them. He divided his troops into three bodies. One he placed in ambush opposite the front of the enemy's army, in order that they might fall on them on any advantage being obtained, or otherwise act as circumstances might require. The second was directed to attack the left flank, and the third the right. On the dawn of the next morning, whilst the Persians were marshalling their men in order of battle, Vardan, at the head of his third division, began a furious assault on their right flank, which put them into considerable disorder. While they were endeavouring to recover the surprise into which this sudden attack had thrown them, the second division of the Armenian forces assaulted their left flank. This renewed all their former disorder, and the elephants, with which their army was crowded, becoming unmanageable, their chief officers also confounded by the peculiar nature of the Armenians' order of battle, the assailants cut down their foes with immense slaughter. In this juncture Deren the Persian general, seeing the confusion that prevailed in the ranks of his army, made a desperate charge alone, against the division where Vardan commanded in person; and by his valour in some measure restored confidence to his men, who then ad-

vancing to his support, caused the Armenians a severe loss. Vardan observing this, drew off to the rear of the Persian troops, and there commenced so violent an attack that confusion and disorder again pervaded the ranks of the enemy. Wherever this brave Armenian chief appeared, the affrighted Persians fled in terror. At this moment the first division, which had hitherto remained inactive, appeared on the field, and made a determined charge on the front of the enemy, which completely decided the day, the Persians fleeing on all sides. The victors pursued them until the close of the day, killing a vast number, when they returned to the field of battle. Here they gathered a great quantity of spoil, and buried their slain, according to the rites of the Christian church, and with every other mark of respect and sorrow which their gallant conduct deserved. The news of the defeat of his troops having reached Khosrove, he became infuriated, and gathering an army far more numerous than the last, placed it under the command of his great general Vahram, who marched without delay to Armenia. Discord having broken out among the Armenians, Vardan was unable to make head against this expedition, and being apprehensive for his safety, he took his family, and accompanied by a few chiefs, proceeded to Constanti-

nople, before Vahram with his army had time to approach. The emperor Justinian received the emigrants with honour and kindness. During the time that Vardan and his adherents remained in the imperial city, they all partook of the holy sacrament in the church of St. Sophia, at one of the three gates of the great altar, from which circumstance it was thenceforward called the Armenian gate.

Vardan having claimed from the emperor his promise of assistance and protection, the latter assembled an army, and, appointing his nephew Marcianus to the command, sent it with Vardan into Armenia, where they were joined by other forces from Armenia Minor by order of Justinian, under the command of Johan, the governor of that country. They also received assistance of troops from the Egerians, the Apkhazes, and the Alans. These troops were then divided into two bodies, one of which remained in Mesopotamia, the other advanced to Inner Armenia, where lay the Persians. The Greek troops having surrounded the latter, a fight ensued, in which 1,200 Persians were killed, the rest taking to flight. Vardan, notwithstanding this success, dared not remain in Armenia, fearing he might be betrayed into the hands of Khosrove. He therefore went to Constantinople, waiting calmly for another

A. D. 572. Haican era 21.

opportunity to serve his country. Khosrove, exasperated at the late defeat he had suffered, determined upon revenging himself on his foes, particularly upon the Greeks. He hastily assembled an army composed of 100,000 infantry, and 40,000 cavalry, with which he commenced the campaign. After a number of battles between him and the Greeks, a peace was agreed upon, by which Armenia became again subject to his power. He thereupon sent a prefect to take possession of the government of Armenia. On the departure of the prefect from Persia, Khosrove fell ill, and as the records state, becoming enlightened by divine revelation, he embraced the Christian faith, was baptized, and shortly after died, with the fullest conviction of the truth of his newly adopted religion. This event happened A. D. 579, and according to the Armenian era 28.

A. D. 578; Haican era 27. Chihrvilon, seven years after the revolt of Vardan, was sent to Armenia as governor, and kept the country in tranquillity for fifteen years. At this period Maurice, an Armenian from the village of Oshakan, in the province of Aragazote, was elevated to the imperial throne at Constantinople. To this emperor, Khosrove, the Persian king, and grandson of that Khosrove, of whom we have related so much, applied for protection and aid against

Vahram his general, who had driven him from his throne. Maurice, commisserating the condition of this unfortunate monarch, assembled a large army to assist him to recover his crown, and placed it under the command of Nierses the younger, son of Nerseh of Basen, who had been formerly armour-bearer to the emperor Justinian. He was also joined by Mushel the Mamiconian, who had been recently appointed a chief amongst the Armenians living in the division of the Greeks, and dwelt in Taron. Sumbat the Bagratian, styled the conqueror of many, and Khutha the chief of the Sasuns, also repaired to the Greek army, each accompanied by as many men as he could raise. Success attended the expedition; Vahram was defeated and slain, and Khosrove again reinstated. After the conclusion of this affair, the Greeks brought false accusations to the king against Mushel the Mamiconian, by which Khosrove was much incensed against him, and endeavoured to put him to death. When Mushel perceived this, he withdrew himself from Persia, and took refuge in his own province of Taron. The innocence of this chief shortly after becoming evident, Khosrove endeavoured to compensate him for the injustice of his conduct, by sending him magnificent presents, and appointing him an independent chief.

A. D. 589. Haican era 38.

He also distinguished Sumbat the Bagratian by many favours, and invited him and his sons, Ashot and Varaztiroz, to come and reside with him in Persia. Sumbat, having accepted this invitation, was appointed a Persian general.

CHAPTER XV.

The period between the prefectures of Sumbat the Bagratian and David Saparuney, and the pontificate of Abraham.

A. D. 593. Haican era 42. SUMBAT the Bagratian, surnamed the conqueror of many, having displayed many acts of valour in Persia, and in all instances triumphed over the enemies of the kingdom, was appointed by Khosrove prefect of Armenia, and also governor of the country of the Virkans. Sumbat, on his appointment, visited this latter country, where he found many Armenians, who had been formerly made prisoners by the Persians, and sent hither. They had actually forgotten their own language and letters. These captives were extremely pleased on seeing their countryman. Sumbat, pitying the miserable condition in which he found these individuals, sent for many priests and other qualified people from Armenia, to teach them again the language of their nation. One, however, of these captives, was an excep-

tion to the ignorance of the rest: he was a priest named Abel, a most excellent character. Sumbat sent him to Moses the pontiff, and directed him to be consecrated bishop of the Virkans, and sent back to assume the government of his diocese, which was henceforward to be under the controul of the Armenian pontiff. Sumbat then proceeded to Armenia.

A. D. 580; Haican era 29.

At this period, the pontiff of the Georgians being dead, a dispute arose among that people respecting a successor to him. Not being able to decide their disagreement, they wrote to Moses the Armenian pontiff, authorizing him to consecrate whomsoever he chose, to be the head of their church. Moses then appointed Curion pontiff of Georgia. This individual was a Georgian by birth, and a most learned and pious man. He was master of four languages, Greek, Armenian, Persian, and Georgian. He had been appointed some time before bishop of Ararat. Immediately after his elevation to his new dignity he proceeded to Georgia, and caused to be brought from Constantinople a correct account of the proceedings of the council of Chalcedon, with its canons, and a precise translation to be taken of the code of St. Leo. These being all examined, the Georgians, the Egerians, and some other adjacent nations, consented to receive

A. D. 581. Haican era 30. the council and its enacted rules. The year after this event Moses the pontiff, after governing the Armenian church thirty years, became so old and feeble that he was unequal to the duties of his office, and obliged to appoint a substitute, in the person of a Monk named Vertannes. This arrangement lasted for thirteen years when Moses died.

A. D. 594. Haican era 43. His successor was Abraham, bishop of the Rushtunians, from the village of Albathans, appointed by order of Sumbat the prefect. Abraham became extremely displeased with Curion the pontiff of the Georgians, for accepting the council of Chalcedon. He had previously written thrice to him to avoid receiving it. Curion in his replies says, "I am astonished that you are at variance with all other churches of Christ, which declare that the creed of the council of Chalcedon is precisely the same with that of the three other councils." Abraham not believing the council in question to be orthodox, and being unable to persuade Curion against it, held a meeting of bishops in Duin, where they anathematized him and all those who accepted it. Maurice the emperor hearing of this, became angry, and immediately

A. D. 597; Haican era 46. ordered an assembly to be held at Constantinople, to which he invited both Greek and Armenian bishops. Upon this being made

public, Abraham sent the monks Vertannes and Gregory as his proxies, with nineteen Armenian bishops, all from the division of the Greeks. After a careful investigation, and much deliberation, the council of Chalcedon was declared orthodox, and the beforementioned bishops accepted it. Vertannes and Gregory refusing to recognize this decision, returned to Armenia. Henceforward much discord prevailed amongst the Armenians in the two divisions of the nation. The emperor Maurice, desiring to set at rest all further disagreement and contention, absolved the Armenians residing in his division from all obedience to Abraham, and appointed another pontiff over them, in the person of Johan, an amiable and virtuous character, from the village of Bagaran in the province of Cog. He was also directed to fix the seat of his spiritual jurisdiction in the town of Cotais, otherwise called Avan. This separation of the two divisions lasted sixteen years. Sumbat the prefect, wishing to leave behind him at his death, some monument by which the Armenians might recal him to mind, set about building a church of hewn stone in the city of Duin, intending to dedicate it to St. Gregory the Illuminator. There had been one dedicated to this saint, built of wood and brick, by St. Vardan, which it was proposed to pull down, and erect the one con-

A. D. 600. Haican era 49.

templated by Sumbat on the old site. While Sumbat was prosecuting this undertaking, the Persians residing in the city, made a representation to Khosrove that the construction of this church would prove injurious to the castle. The king, contrary to their expectations, directed that part of the castle that was threatened by the church, to be broken down, thus leaving Sumbat uninterrupted in his labour.

When Sumbat perceived that he need fear no further opposition, he built the church in a most magnificent style. Some short time after he had finished this edifice, he was invited by Khosrove to meet him at Ctesiphon in Nineveh, where he died, after having distinguished himself by amazing acts of valour. This event occurred in the eighth year of his prefecture. His remains were interred in Darons in the province of Cog. From this time no Persian prefect was ever sent to Armenia, that power being exercised by different Armenians until the period when governors were sent on behalf of the Saracens, or the Caliphs of Damascus.

A. D. 601. Haican era 50. At the request of the chiefs, David Saharuney was appointed prefect of Armenia, after the death of Sumbat the Bagratian. He built the church of Miren. During his prefecture the monastery of Innaknian was repaired and beautified by its Abbot Thodik. It contained 400 monks, besides

having in its environs seven hermits; four from Greece, and three from the country of Sagastan. The latter lived entirely upon herbs, and after leading a life of the most unblemished conduct, were martyred by the Persians, three years after having taken up their residence in the vicinity of Innaknian.

CHAPTER XVI.

The acts of Vahan the Wolf against the Persians.

About this time enmity again broke out between king Khosrove and Mushel. The former dispatched against the latter 10,000 men, headed by Mihran his nephew. Mushel, not being able to make head against this force, sent for his relative Vahan, surnamed the Wolf, from the fortress of Olkan; and on his appearing before him spoke thus, "My son, I am now grown old and have no heir; I will give unto thee the whole of my possessions, and thou shalt combat with the enemies of the faith, who are now coming against us!" Vahan engaged with ardour in the service of his kinsman, and sought to overcome Mihran by stratagem. He sent messengers to the latter, desiring him to return into Persia. Mihran replied, "Deliver Mushel into my hands, and I will quit the country!" Vahan hereupon promised to grant

A. D. 604. Haican era 53.

him his desire, on condition that the land of Taron should be retained by him. On the arrival of Mihran at the city of Mush, he was met by Vahan with the greatest seeming friendship, and having held a long conference with him about delivering up the person of Mushel, it was agreed that Vahan should be furnished with 4,000 Persian cavalry to carry their plot into execution. Having taken these, Vahan proceeded to the village of Kharz, where he left fifty of his cavalry, telling them on his departure from thence, "If I send a man to you with such a sign, hasten to Mihran for more troops, and then march to the city of Oz!" He then set out for Oz with the remainder of the Persian troops, and as the pass into that city was narrow and difficult, he directed them to enter after him in the manner of friends; taking care however to keep their weapons concealed under their garments. "And now," said he, "recollect, when I give such a signal, do not spare man, woman, nor child, but put all to the sword. Vahan then entered the city, followed by the Persians, and appointed them resting places at different houses, where he had previously stationed strong determined men, who, as the devoted Persians entered, strangled them in silence. While this act of butchery was going forward, Vahan sent one

OF THE ASIATIC SO

of his servants to the other fifty soldiers stationed at the village, directing them to apply to Mihran for a reinforcement. The latter immediately dispatched to Oz 2,000 men more. Previous to their arrival, however, Vahan habited his Armenian followers in the dresses of the murdered Persians, and mounting them upon the horses of those wretches, led them out of the city. On the arrival of the two thousand men sent by Mihran, they were permitted to enter without opposition, but on their beginning to blow their trumpets as if in triumph, the citizens rose up against them and massacred every soul. After the destruction of these latter, Vahan assembled 800 powerful men, and posted them in ambush near the river Meltey. He then repaired to Mihran, to whom he laid complaints against the troops with which he had been furnished, and succeeded in obtaining from him another reinforcement of 2,000 men, which he declared were absolutely indispensable to ensure the capture of Mushel. These devoted wretches were then led by him towards the river beforementioned, where the concealed troops, on a preconcerted signal, cut them off to a man. He thence sent messengers to Mihran, informing him that all had succeeded to his utmost wish, and forthwith returned to this general, attended by a hundred men, and in a

conversation he had with him, told him, that the next day would see Mushel in his power. Then withdrawing, he watched his opportunity, and whilst Mihran was asleep in bed, he approached and plunged a javelin into his body. After this act, he went into another apartment, and sent for the secretary of the Persian general, whom he obliged by threats to write, as if from Mihran, to Varshin the governor of the Apahunians, to come to him within three days, and bring also 3,000 men with him. Vahan then caused the unfortunate secretary, together with the courier of Mihran, to be strangled, by the people whom he had brought with him.

During this time the Persian troops were engaged in revelry, to which they had been tempted by the machinations of Vahan. After the latter had observed the success of his plans with Mihran, he directed the few attendants who had accompanied him to the Persian camp to close silently all the outlets of the places wherein the soldiers were carousing, and then to set fire to them. This being done, completed the destruction of the enemy's army. Vahan then assembled his troops near Mount Cuth, where he pitched a camp, made to resemble as much as possible a Persian one, and stationed several Armenians outside, clad in the manner of the Persian chiefs. Varshir, who had obeyed

the false summons he had received, within the time specified approached at the head of 3,600 men. Having halted some distance from where Vahan and his followers lay, he set out alone for the camp, where he supposed Mihran was. On his arrival he was ushered into the presence of Vahan by the disguised chiefs, and not being intimately acquainted with Mihran, he saluted Vahan, fancying him to be the Persian general. He was however quickly undeceived by the Armenian chief, who addressing him in a scornful way, said, "so you imagined to force the Armenians to embrace the Persian religion!" He then directed the people to seize and scourge him. Varshir, confounded by this language, and overpowered at the reflection of the danger he was in, fell lifeless on the ground. On the attendants of Vahan seizing him, and commencing the punishment which they were ordered to inflict, Varshir recovered a little and implored mercy. Vahan promised to spare his life if he did as he directed him, which was, to write immediately to the officer whom he had left in charge of his troops to send 1,000 of them to the foot of Mount Cuth, 1,000 to a valley which he named, and after leaving the remaining 1,600 where they then encamped, to come to him with ten men. This was immediately consented to by the terrified Varshir, and as

soon as the letter was dispatched, the inexorable Vahan coolly ordered him to be strangled. The same fate befel the officer and ten men whom he had sent for, on their falling into his hands. The strength of Varshir's forces being thus broken by their division into three bodies, Vahan attacked them successively, while they, considering themselves in perfect safety, had neglected all means of defence, and destroyed them all with the exception of forty, who succeeded in effecting their escape to Persia. On their relating to Khosrove the horrid catastrophe which had befallen Mihran and his army, he became highly incensed, and immediately assembled a large force to revenge on Vahan the loss he had sustained.

A. D. 605; Haican era 54. This force was placed under the command of Valthank, the uncle of Mihran, who marched with speed into Armenia. On his arrival in the country of the Apahunians, he received a messenger from Vahan, who had assembled an army of 28,000 men, bearing a message of the most scornful and contemptuous nature. "I am surprised," says he, "that after hearing of the tragical fate of Mihran, you have the rashness to come against us; perhaps you seek a wife amongst the daughters of Armenia. Come then to us, and you will find in the midst of our troops what will soon cool your amorous fire!"

After this, Vahan engaged the Persians twice, and defeated them each time. He shortly after died, having proved a dreadful scourge to the enemies of Armenia while they endeavoured to molest her. His remains were interred in the convent of Glak. After his death, his son Sumbat assumed the command of the Armenian troops, and attacking Valthank defeated and killed him, together with three other Persian generals, named Suren, Dehran, and Virduhr. He died shortly afterwards, and was succeeded in his command by his son Vahan, who was, by the mother's side, a descendant of the family of the Camsaracans. For more particulars of these chieftains see Hist. B. III, c. 48—50, and 52.

A. D. 607. Haican era 56.

CHAPTER XVII.

The period between the prefecture of Varaztiroz and the government of Theodorus the Rushtunian, and between the pontificates of Comitas and Nierses, surnamed the Architect.

At this period died Johan, the pontiff of that part of Armenia belonging to the Greeks, and henceforward all separation ceased between the spiritual government of the two divisions. In the same year with the above, Abraham, pontiff of the Persian division of Armenia, also

A. D. 616. Haican era 65.

A. D. 617; Haican era 66. died, and was succeeded by Comitas, bishop of Taron and abbot of the convent of Glak, a native of the village of Alzc in the province of Aragazote, and a prudent and pious character. This pontiff, on a visit to the tomb of St. Ripsima, discovered her urn, which as we have before remarked, had the seals of St. Gregory and St. Isaac upon it. He also put his seal upon it, and built a splendid church there, in which he placed the urn, causing the anthem, "*The persons devoted to the love of Christ, &c.*" to be chaunted during the ceremony that took place on that occasion. He also rebuilt the cupola of the cathedral of Echmiatchin, constructing it with hewn stones, and made many improvements in the church, the memorials of which he enriched with several valuable treatises from his hand. War having again broken out between the Greeks and Persians, David Saharuney the prefect became alarmed for his safety with the Persians, of whom he was much afraid, and relinquishing his government, after holding it twenty-four years, went to Constantinople. He was succeeded by Varaztiroz

A. D. 625. Haican era 74. the Bagratian, the son of Sumbat, surnamed the conqueror of many. Varaztiroz resided in Persia at the time of the flight of David Saharuney to Greece, and was installed by Khosrove at the head of the government of

Armenia. Before his arrival at the seat of his administration, Comitas the pontiff died, after holding that office eight years. Christopher the third, of a noble family, from the province of the Apahunians, on the arrival of the prefect Varaztiroz, was elected pontiff by his order, and with the unanimous consent of the Armenian chiefs. He was a man of the most stern and unbending morality, equally impartial in his admonitions to the poor and rich. Having observed some irregularities in the conduct of the prefect and other nobles, he immediately proceeded to remark them with severity, on which account he became an object of dislike to them, and they sought to depose him from the pontificate. Christopher having observed this, and being quite regardless of worldly grandeur, resigned his office, having exercised it only for the short period of three years. He afterwards built a large convent at the foot of Mount Masis (Ararat,) near the village of Ulies, where, having collected a number of recluses, he lived in the practice of the most severe monastic discipline till the end of his life. His successor in the pontificate was Ezr from the village of Pharajnakert, in the province of Nig. In the first year of his spiritual sway, the emperor Heraklius recaptured the holy cross, which his troops had lost in an engagement

A. D. 625. Haican era 74.

A. D. 628. Haican era 77.

with the Persians. On his return from the war with that people, he visited the city of Carin, and testified much affection towards the Armenians in the division of the Greeks, and appointed Mijej the Gnunian, the great-grandson of the prefect of that name, ruler over them. Many of the Armenians in that quarter having received the council of Chalcedon, which from its not being generally approved of, produced much dissension amongst them, the emperor during his stay at Carin directed an assembly of bishops, as well Greek as Armenian, to be held in that city, for the purpose of restoring unanimity amongst the followers of the gospel. He also invited the pontiff Ezr to be present at it, who, having accepted the invitation, repaired to Carin, with the most distinguished bishops under his jurisdiction, as also several great chiefs. After much debate, and the clearest investigation, the Armenians accepted the holy council and its creed. This occurred A. D. 629, Haican era 78. See Hist. B. III, c. 51.

A. D. 629. Haican era 78.

On the return of Ezr to Duin he was met by a procession of all his clergy, by whom he was conducted to the principal church. Here the pontiff made them acquainted with the proceedings of the meeting at Carin, with which all appeared to be content, except a monk, named Johan, who ventured resistance, for which he

was deprived of his clerical habit and driven out of the city. This individual then retired to the convent of Mair in the province of Nig, where, having made proselytes to his opinions, he caused much disturbance in the nation. Ezr hereupon ordered him to be banished from that convent, which, on account of receiving him, was henceforward designated Mairagom, and the monk himself called Mairagomensis. Expelled from this retreat, Johan took refuge in the country of the Aluans, at the most remote part of the province of Gardman, where he was permitted to remain without further molestation, being regarded as a rotten member of the church.

He was accompanied by one disciple named Sarkies. These two, having embraced the heresy of Julianus Halicarnensis, published a number of schismatic propositions. They were answered and refuted at first by a monk named Gregaratur, a man of profound knowledge, and afterwards by Theodorus Kurthenavor and Johannes the philosopher. Ezr, after his return from Carin, splendidly rebuilt with hewn stones the tomb of St. Gayana, and erected around it a number of dwelling-houses for the priests officiating there. He made many improvements in the church, and caused the Psalm on occasion of the sun rising, "*Blessed be the name of the Lord, &c.*" to be included in the service.

A. D. 630. Haican era 79.

It is worthy of remark here, that after the conclusion of the council of Carin, many of the Armenians situated in the Greek division, and who had hitherto conformed to the religious observance of their own people, suddenly changed their ecclesiastical ceremonies, particularly in three instances: First, they leavened the bread used at the sacred offerings, and mixed water with the eucharist. Secondly, they celebrated the feast of our Saviour's birth on the 25th December. Thirdly, in singing the anthem, "*Holy God, &c.*" they omitted the word "*crucified.*" These irregularities they wished to introduce into the Persian part of Armenia, which induced considerable disturbance, and finally caused the Armenians to separate again from the Greeks, and renounce the council of Chalcedon. These remarks being prefaced, we resume the thread of our history.

A. D. 631. Haican era 80. About this period, Rostom, the governor of Atropatia, began to intrigue for the purpose of dispossessing Varaztiroz of the prefecture, which he had long ardently wished to have himself. Varaztiroz, dreading the consequence of remaining exposed to the machinations of his rival, quietly relinquished the government, and retired with his family and property to the division of the Greeks, after holding the office of prefect seven years. The government of the Greek division of Armenia was some time after

this event given to David Saharuney, who, as we have mentioned before, had taken refuge in Constantinople, when hostilities broke out between the Persians and Greeks. Saharuney remained in his government three years, when having displeased some of the chiefs, he was expelled by them. These latter then quarrelled with each other, and by their mutual hostility left the country exposed to the incursions of her enemies. Theodorus the Rushtunian, on observing the disturbances that pervaded Armenia, gathered some troops, and by his exertions greatly contributed to lessen the disorders. About this time Armenia was invaded by the Saracens, who, to the number of 18,000, headed by a chief named Abdorrahman, had advanced into the regions of Taron, and there committed horrid devastations, taxing all the male inhabitants, and carrying away their wives and children. The chief of that country, Vahan the Camsaracan, and grandson of Vahan the Wolf, had assembled an army of 8,000 men, headed by his brother Tiran, and Mushel another general, to put a stop to the progress of these invaders; they were joined by Sahur, the chief of the Anzevasies, with his followers. A battle took place between them and the Saracens, in which Sahur basely betrayed his countrymen, by joining the ranks of the enemy. He was, however, well rewarded for his trea-

A. D. 636. Haican era 85.

A. D. 637. Haican era 86.

chery, for Tiran, in the course of the fight, having encountered him, cleft his skull with a blow of his sword. The Armenians, however, were defeated with great slaughter; the two leaders, Tiran and Mushel being amongst the slain. All Armenia now lay open to the invaders, and the blaze of conflagration was seen in all parts of the nation.

A. D. 639. Haican era 88. Ezr the pontiff was so much affected by the calamities that afflicted his country that he died with grief, after ruling the church ten years and eight months. While the Armenians were considering about nominating a successor to the pontificate, the Saracens advanced with an immense force to the siege of Duin, which they invested on all sides on the 20th Tirey (November), and on the sixth of January following, which was the first day of the Epiphany, they took it by storm. They caused the most dreadful havock in the city, after massacring 12,000 of the inhabitants.

All the splendid edifices in it were burnt or pulled down, and after pillaging it of every thing valuable, these ruthless barbarians returned to their own country, carrying away

A. D. 640. Haican era 89. with them 35,000 citizens captive. On their retreat, Nierses, the third bishop of the Taics, surnamed the Architect, being elected pontiff, immediately set about remedying the evils that

desolated Duin. He caused the corpses of the murdered citizens to be buried, and began to repair the public edifices which had not been entirely destroyed. He rebuilt the tomb of St. Sarkies, which had been burnt by the Saracens, and constructed another over the Khor Virap or deep dungeon.

This pontiff built the large church of St. Gregory in Valarshapat, and, at the time of laying the foundation of this edifice, he placed the relics of the blessed saint under the four pillars, persuaded by this that it would for ever remain secure from the devastations of future conquerors. The head of St. Gregory was, however, put in a rich urn, and deposited near the altar, for the comfort of the devout and cure of the diseased. It was afterwards removed by certain nuns to Neapolis. Nierses, after this, built a number of churches and other public edifices, among which was the church of the Virgin Mary in Valarshakert. In consequence of these works, he was henceforth called the Architect.

Constantine, the grandson of Heraclius, having succeeded to the imperial throne, Nierses the pontiff prevailed upon him to appoint Varaztiroz, of whom we before gave a few particulars, to the government of Armenia; that individual being then resident at Constantino- A. D. 642. Haican era 91.

ple. Varaztiroz only enjoyed his new dignity a year, when he died, and was buried in the city of Darons.

A. D. 645 Haican era 94. Some time about this period, several heretical books having found their way into Armenia, the pontiff held a meeting at Duin, where all heretics and schismatics were anathematized; and the meeting being of opinion that the council of Chalcedon had accepted the heresies of Theodorus of Mopsuesta, it was rejected by them, and twelve canons instituted for the better regulation of the church. Nierses having observed that the anthems in use had become exceedingly numerous, directed the monk Parsick, surnamed Chon, to make selections of the most useful; which being done, the book into which they were formed was designated by the title of Chonuntir or the selections of Chon.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The period between the prefectures of Sumbat and Nerseh, and between the pontificates of Anastas and Isaac the Third.

A. D. 644. Haican era 93. On the death of Varaztiroz, his son Sumbat was appointed by the emperor governor of Armenia. After the country had recovered a little tranquillity from the distress into which it had

been thrown by the late invasion and pillage, the Saracens again made an irruption, killing and destroying all before them. The inhabitants of Aliovit and the Buznunians were the first to feel the horrors which these invaders brought with them. After despoiling these people, they extended their depredations along the parts about Mount Ararat. The governor Sumbat, dreading the recurrence of a similar scene of calamity to that which marked their first visit, went to meet them, accompanied by the general Theodorus and some other chiefs, with the intention of trying to stop their ravages by submitting to whatever they wished. After distributing many valuable gifts, the Saracens were prevailed upon to desist from their spoliations, by the promise of Sumbat to yield them a poll-tax for the whole nation, and to renounce obedience to the Greeks. The emperor Constantine, on being made acquainted with these terms, became extremely irritated, and assembling a numerous army, set out with a determination to bring the Armenians again to subjection by the sword. On his approach to Armenia, Nierses the pontiff, accompanied by a number of bishops, priests, and considerable laymen, went to meet him; and with much entreaty prevailed upon him to dismiss his anger. The emperor then proceeded with the

A. D. 646. Haican era 95.

A. D. 647; Haican era 96.

pontiff to Duin, and the next day having heard mass in the church, he ordered the council of Chalcedon to be read before all present. The Armenians having again consented to accept the council, all then partook of the holy communion. The emperor then, leaving in Armenia a quantity of troops, with Greek generals and priests, returned to Constantinople. On his departure, the Greeks being differently circumstanced to the Armenians with regard to fasts and other religious observances, endeavoured to make them conform to their customs. Some of the Armenians complied, and were much honoured on account of it by the Greeks, but most of the people looked upon these latter with contempt, and would not allow them to partake of the communion in their churches. The Greeks hereupon complained to the emperor, who wrote a threatening letter to the Armenians, directing them immediately to refrain from the odious distinction which they made between the Christians of the two nations. This letter was brought by David a philosopher, and an Armenian by birth, from the province of Bagrevand. On the receipt of it, the Armenians assembled in the city of Duin, and wrote a reply to the emperor, entreating him to allow them to continue in the doctrines which they had received from St. Gregory, and

A. D. 648. Haican era 97.

imploring him to desist from compelling them to adopt others of which they knew nothing. The emperor, on becoming acquainted with the moderate extent of their desires, immediately desisted from all attempts to molest them. The Greeks whom he had left in Armenia, however, were less tolerant. Their priests, particularly, were incessant in their endeavours to force the Armenians to accept the council of Chalcedon. During these disputes and disagreements Nierses the pontiff appeared to be well inclined toward the council in question, and indiscriminately administered the communion to Armenians and Greeks. This being remarked, some persons stirred up the anger of Theodorus the Rushtunian against him, which terrified the pontiff so much that he hastily took refuge in his native province of the Taics, where he remained six years. On his flight, Theodorus appointed Johannes Ticorensis, otherwise called Manazkertensis, a disciple of Gregoratur Anzakhazorensis, to officiate in his room as deputy. Johannes being a bitter enemy of the Chalcedonians, immediately on his assuming his dignity, took with him a few monks and repaired to Manazkert, where he held a meeting, and publicly condemned the council about which they had had so much dispute. We mentioned before that several Armenians

A. D. 649. Haican era 98.

A. D. 651. Haican era 100.

had begun to practise the heterodox ceremonies of the Greeks. Johannes, to prevent their example from deluding others, enacted at this meeting five canons, and particularly called them to the notice of the faulty. First, he commanded that no water should be mixed with the wine used at the eucharist. Secondly, that no leaven should be put in the bread designed for sacred offerings. Thirdly, that the birth of Christ should not be celebrated as a new and distinct feast. Fourthly, that in the fasts, neither fish, oil, wine, eggs, nor butter, was to be made use of, except on the Saturdays and Sundays of Lent. Fifthly, that the Lord's Supper was never to be partaken of a Maundy Thursday. This deed of the officiating pontiff gained him such renown, that all ranks of people began to look upon him as a great man, and he usually went under the designation of the sage or the philoshopher. After a lapse of some time the proceedings of this meeting were published, and erroneously received, under the title of "Account of a meeting, &c. called and superintended by Johannes, the great philosopher."

A. D. 652. Haican era 101. The Saracens having observed that the Armenians had again submitted to the authority of the emperor, renewed their incursions into that country. By the intercession, however, of Vasak,

chief of one part of Armenia Minor, and who had submitted to their authority, these invaders refrained from committing such depredations as marked their career on their other visits. They did not even kill a single individual, but taking hostages for the future obedience of the inhabitants, to the amount of 1,775, they returned to Damascus. Theodorus the Rushtunian was one of these hostages, and some time after his arrival with the conquerors at Damascus he died. In the following year the governor Sumbat also died, after holding that office ten years. Nierses the Architect, upon hearing of the decease of these two, who had been his most virulent opposers, returned to Duin, and resumed his pontificate. Shortly after this event the cross of Varag was discovered, and an annual festival appointed for the same. See Hist. B. III, c. 55.

A. D. 654. Haican era 103.

On the death of Sumbat, the Saracens, who then domineered in Armenia, appointed Hamazasp the Mamiconian to the office of governor. By the direction of the latter, Vard, the son of Theodorus the Rushtunian, became general of the Armenian troops.

A. D. 656. Haican era 105.

Two years after the assumption of the government by Hamazasp, the nation finding the tributes exacted from them by the Saracens oppressive, revolted from their dominion, and again became tributaries of the emperor, who

confirmed Hamazasp in the government by the title of prefect. When the news of this circumstance reached the caliph of Damascus, he put all the Armenian hostages to death, and commenced preparations to invade that country in person, determined to deliver it up to pillage and the sword. Before, however, he had time to carry his designs into execution, a sedition broke out among his troops, by whom he was killed. His successor Moaviah having entered into negotiations with the Armenians, they were prevailed upon again to renounce subjection to the emperor, and return to the obedience of the Saracens. Eight months after this event Hamazasp the Mamiconian died, having held the government five years.

A. D. 659. Haican era 108. He was succeeded by his brother Gregory, by order of Moaviah the caliph of Damascus. This governor built a large church in the village of Aruch, near Mount Aragaz, and a spacious convent to the eastward of Elivard. Immediately after a war ensued between the Greeks and the Saracens, which terminated in favour of the latter, in consequence of the treachery of the Armenian general, Vard, who betrayed the Greeks into the hands of the Saracens. Vard, however, was severely punished for his treason, henceforward never enjoying rest through the compunctions of his guilty conscience. Imme-

diately after the conclusion of the war between these two powerful people, Nierses the pontiff, surnamed the Architect, died, after having enjoyed the dignity twenty years and nine months. He was succeeded in the pontificate by Anastas from the village of Arcurey, which lies at the foot of Mount Ararat. Anastas built a convent and church in his native place, and near it erected several inns and hospitals for the benefit of the poor. This pontiff set about improving the Armenian calendar, assisted by Ananias Shirakensis, but was prevented finishing his laudable work by the hand of death, which cut him off in the sixth year of his pontificate. His successor was Israel from the village of Othmis, in the province of Vanand. At this period flourished Ananias Shirakensis, whom we have just before noticed, and who was distinguished by being the author of several scientific works. His contemporaries, the learned Theodorus surnamed Kurthenavor, and Moses the rhetorician, bishop of the Seunies, were no less celebrated. The former immortalized his name by the publication of a treatise against the Mairagomenses, proving that all the sufferings of our blessed Saviour were not imaginary but real. The latter, Moses, is noted as an essayist. After a pontificate of ten years Israel died. Isaac the Third, bishop of Rotkaz, from the village

A. D. 661. Haican era 110.

A. D. 667. Haican era 116.

A. D. 677. Haican era 126.

of Arkunashen in the province of Zoraphor, then became pontiff. He was eminently distinguished for an intimate acquaintance with the sciences, and was equally skilful in every department of human knowledge. He was brought up in the strictest observance of the duties of morality and piety, by the celebrated and learned Theodorus. In the seventh year of his pontificate numerous banditti from the Lazirs infested Armenia. Gregory the prefect fell in a conflict with these marauders, after a government of twenty-four years.

For about two years after his decease Armenia remained without a governor, in consequence of which every species of disorder and trouble afflicted the nation, increased by the horrid devastations of its enemies, who assailed it in all quarters; the people having no allies to whom they could look for assistance.

A. D. 685. Haican era 134. After the expiration of the abovementioned period, an individual of the name of Ashot, a Bagratian and son of one Beurat, rose from obscurity, and assembling a few troops, attacked and routed the enemies of the nation, and took upon himself the government, and appointed his brother Sumbat general of Armenia. He then made peace with the Saracens, consenting to pay them yearly tribute. Justinian II, who then wore the imperial purple, perceiving

the separation of the Armenians from the Greeks, directed the former, on pain of his displeasure, to renounce all obedience to the Saracens and return to his authority. They replied in these terms, "How often have we been subject to the rule of the Greeks, yet how little assistance have they rendered us in time of our distress? On the contrary, the reward of our obedience has been injury and insult. Should we at present submit ourselves to your power, our kingdom would be exposed to invasion, we should be delivered up to the sword, and our habitations to pillage. We beseech you then to let us remain under the dominion of our present masters, by which alone our safety and the safety of our nation can be secured." The emperor enraged at this language, sent an immense army to invade Armenia. Twenty-five provinces became almost depopulated by the fury of the invaders, who laid waste the whole face of the country by fire and sword. They took 8,000 families and sold them as slaves in a foreign land. The following year the emperor again sent an army composed of 40,000 men to ravage Armenia. The nation was almost driven to madness and despair by the devastations that were committed. The miseries of this unhappy people were not terminated here. The Saracens conceiving that the Armenians

A. D. 686. Haican era 135.

A. D. 689. Haican era 138.

had returned to the subjection of the Greeks, also made incursions, and demolished every edifice they met, carrying away captive a vast multitude of both sexes and all ages. Ashot the governor, on attempting to resist them, was defeated and killed, after ruling Armenia upwards of four years. After this event they retired for a while, but no sooner was the country restored to a little order, than they returned with a greater number of troops than they had ever before brought into Armenia. They were headed by a general named Mahomed.

They destroyed cities, towns, and villages, as they advanced, and taking the fortress of Sevan, they razed it to the ground, and sold the garrion as slaves. The Armenians terrified at the dreadful nature of their attacks, surrendered the government of the country into their hands. The emperor on hearing of this marched in person to Armenia at the head of an immense army. The people having no other alternative but to bend to the stronger, again submitted to the Greeks. On the return however of the emperor to Constantinople he left 30,000 of his troops for the protection of the country against the Saracens, after taking hostages from amongst the most distinguished Armenian chiefs. Order and tranquillity was at length restored, and the government confided by the emperor to

A. D. 690. Haican era 139.

A. D. 690. Haican era 139.

Nerseh Shirakensis, son of Vahan the elder, the Camsaracan. Nerseh was a man of talent and much reading. He caused the ecclesiastical history of Socrates to be translated into the Armenian language, by Philon the monk. His father Vahan caused Gregory, bishop of the Arsharunians, to make annotations on the book of the ecclesiastical ceremonies for the days of Lent.

CHAPTER XIX.

The period between the governments of Abdullah and Vilth, and the pontificates of Elias and Johannes the philosopher.

A. D. 691. Haican era 140.

The Caliph of Damascus was greatly exasperated when he learned that the Armenians had again become subject to the Greeks. He ardently desired to invade that country again, but was deterred by the large army which the emperor had stationed there for its protection. The Greek troops however were gradually withdrawn from Armenia, and at the expiration of three years from their first appearance they had all departed. The Caliph then opened negotiations with the Armenians, and by kind promises induced them to submit to his power. Hereupon he sent them a governor of the name

of Abdullah. This occurred in the fourth year of the government of Nerseh the Camsaracan.

A. D. 693. Haican era 142. Abdullah was accompanied by a number of Saracens, and on his entry into the city of Duin, received the inhabitants with kindness and respect. His affable manners, and the mildness with which he exercised his authority, tended greatly to reassure the people. All this, however, was but a mask, for shortly after, when all appeared tranquil, he seized, on different pretexts, the persons of several chiefs, and putting them in chains, extorted from them their most valuable property. Nerseh perceiving this, made his escape to Taics. Abdullah however caught Isaac the pontiff, and sent him, together with Sumbat the Beuratian and general, in chains to Damascus. He then stripped all the great churches of Ararat of their treasure, with every valuable ornament that decorated them, and taking David Duinensis, caused him to be crucified. Sumbat the general, however, effected his escape from Damascus, returning to Armenia the same year in which he had been sent from it in chains. He addressed a piteous letter to Justinian the emperor, painting the distress into which Armenia was plunged by the governor Abdullah in the most lively colours, and imploring assistance to relieve his country from the yoke of the Saracens. Justinian hereupon

immediately ordered Leontius, a celebrated general, to march into Armenia at the head of a large army. In the interim, Sumbat gathering a few Armenian chiefs, and assembling a few troops, took post in the city of Vardanakert. Abdullah on hearing of this, quitted Duin and marched to attack him at the head of 5,000 men. During his absence the Greek troops arrived in the country of Ararat, when they entered the city of Duin and destroyed his house and the houses of all his followers. They then marched with the greatest speed to Vardanakert, where they formed a junction with Sumbat, and attacking Abdullah gave him a complete defeat. His troops in their flight over the river Arax were almost all drowned, by the sudden breaking of the ice with which it was then covered. Abdullah with only ten men escaped. Those of the Saracens who had been taken prisoners in this late encounter, were sold as slaves. Leontius shortly after returned to Constantinople, where being elected emperor on the deposition of Justinian, he appointed Sumbat governor of Armenia.

A. D. 694, Haican era 143.

Sumbat the Bagratian, surnamed the younger Beuratian, on receiving his appointment, took up his residence in the fortress of Thukhars in the country of the Taics, and for some years governed the country in peace, the

A. D. 695, Haican era 144.

Saracens having suspended their incursions in consequence of commotions among themselves. These, however, having at length subsided, Murwan the caliph sent an army under the command of his renowned general named Mohmat Ogba, to invade Armenia. Mohmat Ogba on entering the province of Vanand began to lay waste all before him. Nerseh the Camsaracan observing this, joined Sumbat, and both, having raised a force from the people of Vanand, marched towards the plunderers. A fight ensued, wherein the Saracens were defeated with great slaughter. Mohmat Ogba with difficulty escaped, attended by a few horsemen. On his return to Damascus, he greatly inflamed the anger of the Caliph against the Armenians, by the detail of his late defeat, and obtained from him an order to assemble an overwhelming army to endeavour to wipe off the disgrace he had incurred. The troops being collected he set out for Armenia, determined to spare no one in his vengeance. When Isaac the pontiff, who was then a prisoner in Damascus, heard of the calamities that awaited his countrymen, he sent to Mohmat entreating his permission to accompany him in his expedition. On his request being complied with, he set out to join the army, but on reaching Charran he was suddenly taken ill and died.

A. D. 702. Haican era 151.

Before he expired, however, he wrote with his own hand a supplicatory letter to the Saracen general, praying him to spare the Armenians. He directed his deacon, that when he heard his last sigh, he should put this letter in his right hand. When Mohmat heard of the death of the holy pontiff, he sent directions that his remains should not be interred until he had seen them. "For," said he, "if Isaac were alive he would come to me; and since he is dead, I will go to him!" He then repaired to the place where the pontiff lay. On his arrival he approached the body of the deceased and saluted it with words and gestures as if it were alive. The body of the pontiff then, wonderful to relate, returned the salutation, and stretching forward its right hand, offered to the astonished Saracen the letter which it held. Mohmat became exceedingly terrified at this miracle, yet took the letter, and after reading its contents, exclaimed, "Yes, thou man of God, thy desires shall be fulfilled!" He then wrote a letter of peace and reconciliation to the Armenian chiefs, and caused the remains of the pontiff to be taken to that country by a body of Saracen troops, commanded by one Cashm. He then returned to Damascus, and prevailed upon the Caliph to release all the Armenian prisoners who had been taken during former wars. St. Isaac was in the pontificate,

including the time during which he was a prisoner at Damascus, twenty-six years and a few months. He left behind him many beautiful compositions, consisting of treatises on various subjects, and anthems for the use of the church.

A. D. 703; Haican era 152. Eliah, bishop of the Buznunians, from the city of Archesh then became pontiff. By his influence with the Saracens he caused the queen of the Aluans and Nierses their pontiff, to be banished, for having accepted the council of Chalcedon. He also persecuted all the Chalcedonians that lay within the compass of his power.

Some time after the election of Eliah to the pontificate, Abdullah, who was formerly governor of Armenia, was elevated to the caliphate of Damascus, and recollecting with shame the defeat he had formerly suffered at Vardanakert, he was not pleased at the continuation of the peace that was formed by Mohmat, and determined to seek some

A. D. 704. Haican era 153. occasion to harrass the Armenians. For this purpose he appointed Cashm governor of Armenia, and directed him to do all in his power to destroy the chiefs and grandees of that nation. Cashm hereupon contrived to decoy a number of the principal Armenian nobility into the church of Nakhjuan, to which he set fire and cruelly burnt them alive. On the perpetration of this infamous deed, he directed his troops to plunder

the property of his victims and to seize all their families: this was executed. Among the captives was a boy four years of age, named Vahan, the son of Khosrove chief of Golthen, who in the course of time was martyred: a girl of the name of Susan, daughter of Vahan the Camsaracan, also fell into their hands, and being tortured by them in consequence of her religion, perished in Charran. Sumbat, the late governor and a few other chiefs, to avoid falling into the power of Cashm, fled into the country of the Egerians, which was under the power of the Greeks. Here, instead of being received with kindness and assisted, they were treated with contempt. This irritating them, they plundered the city in which they had taken refuge, and robbed the churches that were in it, and carried off their spoil into Armenia. The Greeks, incensed at their impiety in laying hands on the church, published an anathema which was read annually on Easter-day.

A. D. 706; Haican era 155.

In the fourteenth year of the government of Cashm, he was superseded by Vilth, by order of Omar then Caliph of Damascus. From this period, to the reign of the Bagratians, our country continued to be governed by individuals sent by the Caliph. These governors, contrary to the will of their master, continued to oppress the Armenians with little intermission of rest;

A. D. 717. Haican era 166.

levying taxes and inflicting fines which were appropriated to their own private advantage. The Armenians who had been sent captive to Damascus by Cashm, on the latter's removal from his government, petitioned Omar the Caliph to liberate them, which he ordered to be done, being a man of a very compassionate heart. They then returned to Armenia. Just at this period Eliah the pontiff died, after ruling the Armenian church fourteen years and a half. He was succeeded by Johannes the Fourth, surnamed the philosopher, from the village of Ozun in the province of Tashirs. Johannes from his infancy had been under the care of the celebrated and learned monk Theodorus, surnamed Kurthenavor, who instructed him in every art and science which was then known in Armenia. On his attaining manhood he became so celebrated in consequence of the variety of his talents and the perfection to which he carried them, that he was universally denominated the philosopher or sage. In manners he was extremely pleasing, and in the qualities of his heart unequalled: generous, candid, and peaceful, he won all hearts. In person he was tall and well shaped, with an extremely commanding air and remarkably beautiful features. He always wore under his robes and next his skin, a dress of extremely

A. D. 718. Haican era 167.

course sackcloth. On festivals he would carry this bodily discipline to such an excess, that people who beheld him were amazed. His fame having reached the ears of Omar the caliph, he was invited by that monarch to visit him, and met with a most respectful and honourable reception. On his elevation to the pontificate, he devoted himself assiduously to restore tranquillity in the spiritual affairs of the Armenians, among whom many confusions and perplexities had started up, occasioned by three several reasons: first, the people were agitated and alarmed by the statements of two most wicked sects, which had recently sprung into existence, and were denominated Paulicians and Fanatics: secondly, much confusion arose from the irregular lives many of the clergy and laity led: thirdly, the nation was undecided as to the performance of the religious ceremonies; some desiring to conform to the custom of the Greeks, who administered the Lord's Supper with leavened bread and wine mixed with water; who also omitted the word "*crucified*" in the anthem "*The holy God, &c.*" and asserted that the birth of Christ should be celebrated by a distinct feast; with many other irregularities. Johannes the philosopher wishing to apply a wholesome redress to these evils, assembled a large meeting in the city

A. D. 719. Haican era 168.

of Duin, at which were present almost all the bishops of Armenia Major and Minor. After they had anathematized the Paulicians and Fanatics, they enacted thirty-two canons for the future government of the church. The pontiff shortly after held a smaller meeting, in conjunction with the Syrians, at which the Julianites were condemned. After remaining eleven years in the pontificate he died.

The following are a few of his works: a book written against the Fanatics, relative to the incarnation of our Lord, printed and republished at Venice in 1807:* extracts from the book of annotations on the divine service: treatises on repentance and probity of conduct. He also formed canon-books, and appointed anthems to be sung at great feasts. A short time before his decease Vilth the governor was recalled by the Caliph of Damascus, after holding that office ten years.

* This valuable little work was translated into Latin by Father Baptist Aucher, and published at the convent of *San Lazaro* in Venice in 1816, with notes by the translator

CHAPTER XX.

The period between the governments of Mahomed and Hasan, and between the pontificates of David the First and Isaiah.

MAHOMED succeeded Vilth in the government of Armenia, during the lifetime of Johannes the philosopher. He was a great man, but his troops were addicted to every kind of disorder and crime. On the pontifical chair becoming vacant by the death of Johannes, David the First, from the village of Aramons in the province of Cotais, was appointed to fill it. A. D. 727. Haican era 176. A. D. 729. Haican era 178.

About this period flourished Stephen the Second, from the province of the Seunies. He was early distinguished for genius, and having studied for a considerable period at Constantinople in the time of St. Germannus, he translated into Armenian the works of several holy fathers, viz. Dionysius the Areopagite, Gregory of Nyssa, and others. He subsequently repaired to Rome, where he much increased his stock of knowledge. Thence returning to Constantinople, he was favoured by a letter of sound doctrine from

St. Germannus. With this he returned to his native country, and by the influence of Babken prince of the Seunies, was consecrated bishop of that people. On an occasion of his admonishing some of the members of his flock a tumult arose, and he was prematurely cut off by a conspiracy.

A. D. 730. Haican era 179. Just about this time David the pontiff being ill treated by the governor, and disgusted with the conduct of his troops, retired to his native village Aramons, where he erected a splendid church and remained there in retirement eight years. Seeing, however, the governor incessant in harrassing the Armenians, David wrote to the Caliph of Damascus, and implored him to liberate the country from his sway. This was done, Mahomed being recalled in the fifth year of his government, and Abdulaziz sent in

A. D. 732. Haican era 181. his room. This latter proved a mild and kind ruler. He had been brought up from his infancy to manhood in the city of Duin, and it was he who betrayed it into the hands of the Saracens in one of the invasions. Recollecting that he had been the cause of its ruin, he set about repairing its walls and fortifications in the second year of his government. "My hand," said he, "occasioned the fall of this city, and the same hand shall restore it to its former strength." He did more, for he widened the

trenches and extended the fortifications to a greater distance than before. David the pontiff observing this, returned to Duin, and shortly after died there, having held the reins of the church twelve years and a half. His successor in the pontificate was Tiridates the First, from the village of Othmis in the province of Vanand, a zealous and good man, passing the most of his time in prayer, fasting, and in the exercise of acts of charity. In his time flourished Artavazd, an Armenian prince, possessing immense influence and power, being married to Ann, the sister of the emperor Constantine Copronymus. Artavazd having assumed the imperial purple, in opposition to his brother-in-law, was attacked, defeated, and taken prisoner by the latter, who caused his eyes and those of his sons to be plucked out. Vasak, the general of this unfortunate prince, was put to death. Immediately after this event the governor Abdulaziz died, after a government often years. Murwan, the son of Mohamed the predecessor of Abdulaziz, then became governor of Armenia. He was a man of eminently great qualities, and in the second year of his sway over Armenia, he delivered charge of the country to Arshot the Bagratian, the son of Vasak, and proceeded to Damascus. Here after some contests, wherein he proved victorious, he was elevated to the dignity of the

A. D. 741. Haican era 190.

A. D. 742. Haican era 191.

caliphate, and immediately after confirmed Ashot the Bagratian in the government of Armenia.

A. D. 743. Haican era 192. Arshot for some time behaved remarkably well. In the course of a few years, on the death of Murwan and the succession of Almansur to the caliphate, the tributes of Armenia were much increased by the Saracens.

These people were then about constructing the city of Bagdad, to which place the throne of the caliphate was shortly after removed. To enable them to meet the expenses of raising it, they taxed all the Armenian clergymen, and even the hermits who were inhabitants of the wilderness. Orders were also issued for all crosses to be removed from the tops of churches, and the people to repair at unusual seasons of the day and night to offer up prayers, besides other grievous directions which they were called upon to obey. These grievances pressing hard upon the people, they determined to revolt. Arshot the governor attempting to resist, was seized by Gregory and David the Mamiconian chiefs, who put out his eyes. This occurred in the fifteenth year of his government; he lived after this event fourteen years, when he died

A. D. 758. Haican era 207. and was buried in the village of Darons. Ezet succeeded him as governor and resided in Duin. He dreadfully harrassed the people by the exaction of tributes and abominable extortions;

he was recalled by the Caliph after two years, and replaced by Isaac the Bagratian the son of Bagarat. He was a man of singular piety, and governed the nation with the most paternal mildness. He was celebrated for the beauty of his person, few of his contemporaries possessing such a majestic figure and handsome countenance. A. D. 760. Haican era 209.

During his government a number of depredators made incursions into the province of Vaspurakan from Persia. They were opposed by the two brothers Isaac and Hamazasp the princes of the Arzrunians, who in an encounter with them, both fell after killing numbers of the plunderers. It appears that Hamazasp received a severe wound and fell from his horse, and then being surrounded was soon dispatched. This sight deeply affecting his brother Isaac, he rushed impetuously on the murderers, and after revenging the death of Hamazasp by the slaughter of a great number, was assailed from behind by a blow which killed him on the spot.

When Gagik the youngest brother of Isaac and Hamazasp, heard of their deaths, he assembled a large force, and marching with it to that part of Persia whence the plunderers had originally come, he burnt and otherwise destroyed a number of places, besides killing a great number of people. After having well A. D. 761. Haican era 210.

revenged the death of his brothers, he returned to Armenia. Some time after he was betrayed into the hands of the Persians, who, irritated at the injuries they had sustained from him, threw him into prison, where he remained till his death. He left three sons behind him, Isaac, Hamazasp, and Merujun. The first two were martyred in the lapse of a few years. The last, Merujan, having abjured the christian faith was killed by David the Mamiconian. About this period the Armenians were thrown into the greatest distress by the increase of the exactions of the Saracens. These were now become almost intolerable, when, to double the evil, a dreadful dearth happened in consequence of a harvest blight, occasioned by furious showers of hailstones of an enormous size, which cut almost every blade of grass to pieces. This unfortunate circumstance was quickly followed by another still more fatal in its effects. Clouds of locusts overspread the land, and soon devoured what had been left unhurt by the hail. Famine and misery now desolated this unhappy country. Tiridates the pontiff, unable to apply any relief, sunk under the pressure of grief, and died, after a pontificate of twenty-three years.

A. D. 764. Haican era 213. He was succeeded by Tiridates the Second, from Turuberan in the province of Dasnavors, who only held that high office three years, when he

died. His successor was Sion, from the village of Bavons in the province of Aragazote, a man eminently distinguished for wisdom and piety. He wrought many miracles, as the old records state. Shortly after his elevation to the pontificate he held a meeting in this year in the city of Partav, and enacted twenty-four canons for the regulation of the clergy and the church. Isaac the Bagratian attended this assembly. He had been superseded in his office of governor in the sixth year of his sway, by Seuleman, a prince of the Saracens, and previously prefect of the country about Mount Shem. Seuleman governed Armenia three years and then died. Bekir then became governor, being sent by the Caliph of Bagdad. He was a relentless character, and fearfully harrassed the poor Armenians. Troops were sent by his order into the provinces of Kalen and Thalen, where they slew 700 of the inhabitants, and made slaves of 1,200 more. Bekir treacherously decoyed Isaac, the chief of these people, into his power, and then sent him to the Caliph of Bagdad, who cruelly ordered him to be put to death and his property to be confiscated. During these troubles Sion the pontiff died, having presided over the church eight years. Isaiah, from the village of Elapatrush in the province of Nig, was then elevated to the pontificate. He was a man of

A. D. 767. Haican era 216.

A. D. 766. Haican era 215.

A. D. 769. Haican era 218.

A. D. 775. Haican era 224.

considerable abilities, having from his infancy always resided with the reigning pontiff. In his time flourished Stephen of Duin, the pious Ephraim, Anastas, Catchick, and David of Horomair, who were all distinguished for eminent wisdom and scientific talent, but owing to the perturbed nature of the age in which they lived, their abilities were permitted to remain unrewarded. After Bekir had ruled Armenia nine years, hated by the people of that country on account of his cruel administration, he was succeeded by Hasan, sent by the Caliph of Bagdad. Hasan exceeded all his predecessors in tyranny. The nation became sadly impoverished during his sway, the troops he kept being permitted to exercise the most wanton cruelties on the inhabitants with impunity. The licentious conduct of the soldiers, at length roused the anger and exertions of Mushel the Mamiconian, who, having assembled a few men, attacked a party of them who had come to Taron for the purpose of plundering. He defeated and killed two hundred of them. Elated at this, he procured reinforcements, and in a second encounter with these public robbers he massacred 4,000 of them. He then marched to the capital Duin, and taking it by assault, drove from it the governor in the third year of his sway.

A. D. 778. Haican era 227.

Inspirited by the conduct of the gallant Mushel, the other Armenian chiefs took up arms and revolted from the dominion of the Saracens. The latter upon this invaded Armenia with 30,000 men, and were bravely opposed by a small body of Armenians, amounting to no more than 5,000, headed by Mushel, Sumbat, and Samuel. A battle took place between the two armies during the festival of Easter, when, after a resolute contest, superiority of numbers carried the day, the Armenian leaders with 3,000 of their men falling on the field. The remainder of the beaten troops took flight, accompanied by the two sons of Sumbat, whose names were Ashot and Shapuh. The Saracens immediately after their victory began to spoil the country, but Ashot, surnamed Misaker (the flesh-eater), with his brother Shapuh, having procured a few brave troops, attacked those of the plunderers who were ravaging the provinces of Ashozes and Tashirs, and put them to flight. Ashot then marched to the province of Shirak, where a similar success attended him; having expelled thence the Saracen governor Jahap, together with all his forces, Ashot built a city in this last province and named it Ani the Second. It afterwards became the capital of the nation and the residence of the pontiff. For about six years after this event, Armenia was one scene of

A. D. 780. Haican era 229.

A. D. 782. Haican era 231.

fighting and plundering, sometimes the Saracens were successful, at other times the Armenians.

CHAPTER XXI.

The period between the governments of Ezit the Second and Abuseth, and between the pontificates of Stephen and Johannes the Fifth.

A. D. 786. Haican era 237. Ezit the Second being appointed governor of Armenia by the Caliph of Bagdad, named Haron, marched to take possession of his government at the head of a numerous army. By means of promises, mildness, and threats of severity, he succeeded in tranquillizing the country, and all became again subject to the power of the Saracens. All the considerable chiefs whose loyalty was most doubted, he kept near his person, and to show his generosity, after having demanded and received from the people hostages for their future obedience, he set them at liberty. Some time after this, however, he began to show less kindness in his disposition, for on a visit which he made to the city of Partav, he sent for the Arzrunian princes Isaac and Hamazasp, and cruelly martyred them. He then harrassed the nation by laying enormous taxes on them. These

A. D. 787. Haican era 236.

were at length found so burthensome that 12,000 souls went into voluntary exile, seeking refuge in Greece, where the emperor kindly allotted them a place of residence in a fine open country. Isaiah the pontiff fell a victim to grief, caused by contemplating the misery to which his country was reduced: he died in the thirteenth year of his pontificate. Stephen Dira- A. D. 788. Haican era 237. nerez of Duin, succeeded him, and died two years after his predecessor. Joab or Job, from the city of Ostan, then became pontiff, and only enjoyed his dignity for the short period of six months. His successor was the aged Solomon, A. D. 791. Haican from the province of Gelarcunies. This pontiff era 240. had been educated in the convent of Makenoses, where, by intense study, he acquired a variety and perfection of knowledge unequalled by any of his contemporaries. He subsequently dwelt in a small cottage, free from all intercourse with man, and by his rigid mode of life became greatly celebrated throughout the country. He quitted this lonely residence on his elevation to the pontificate. At the ceremony of placing him in the pontifical chair several of the chiefs, observing the state of debility to which age and bodily mortifications had reduced him, asked him, how he intended to govern the church? He replied, "I shall direct my portrait to be placed by the side of those of the pre-

ceding pontiffs, on the wall of the church, but, contrary to the usual custom, it shall be painted wholly black!" By this answer he meant them to understand three things: First, I do not presume to be a pontiff, but a shadow of those who have gone before me; therefore I cause the black colour in my portrait to be more conspicuous than in others, which the painters have drawn in the greatest possible perfection: secondly, I do not seek so much to draw respect towards myself, as to be a partaker of that esteem which my predecessors have so well merited; therefore my desire is to see my portrait represented differently from others: thirdly, I am an old and feeble man, and unable to fulfil perfectly the duties incumbent on the high office to which you have called me. I shall soon die, but wish to have the satisfaction to know, that after my departure, some little memorial of me will be left behind, in the portrait which I shall cause to be hung on the walls of the church." His prediction, with regard to his speedy decease, was soon verified. He died in less than a year afterwards. His picture was placed agreeably to his wishes, amongst those of the other pontiffs.

A. D. 792. Haican era 241. George, surnamed Hoylorbuk, from the village of Oshakan in the province of Aragazote, succeeded Solomon in the pontificate, and ruled the

A. D. 795. Haican era 244. church three years, when he died. He was suc-

ceeded by Joseph the Second, surnamed Carich (the scorpion), from the village of St. George in the province of Aragazote. Four years after this elevation to the pontificate, Ezit, the governor of Armenia, was recalled by the caliph of Bagdad, after an administration of twelve years. Some time before this period the emperor Constantine married Mary, the daughter of a great Armenian chief, whom the Greeks named Philaretus. From this connection sprung a daughter called Euphrosyne. The mother of Constantine, a deep, intriguing woman, shortly after the birth of Euphrosyne, having procured adherents, seized the person of the emperor, and placed him in confinement. From this circumstance much tumult and discontent pervaded the empire. The Armenians of Cappadocia revolted, and it required all the skill and persuasive powers of Alex, surnamed Mushel, the celebrated Armenian chief, to induce them to submit again to the power of the Greeks. This was, however, at last effected, and Mushel having obtained partizans in Greece, boldly declared himself emperor. Constantine, a short time afterwards, obtained his liberty, and having taken Mushel prisoner put out his eyes. The Armenians then flew to arms, and declared themselves independent of the Greeks. The emperor assembled a large army, and putting it under the command of Artashir, an Armenian

A. D. 768. Haican era 237.

chief, directed him to march against the rebels. Artashir with his troops was defeated and put to flight. The emperor then insidiously decoyed the Armenian chiefs into his power, and violating every law, human and divine, cruelly put them all to death.

We will now resume the account of the affairs of that part of Armenia possessed by the Saracens. Khuzima succeeded Ezit as governor, and took up his residence in Duin. Immediately after his arrival he put a stop, by the express order of the caliph of Bagdad, to the depredations of the troops, which had been such a dreadful scourge to the Armenians during the sway of preceding governors. He entirely restored peace to the nation, treating the chiefs with particular kindness, after having received from them the requisite hostages for their allegiance. Among those whom the nation gave as hostages was Sumbat the son of Ashot, surnamed the brave, and who was sent by the governor of Bagdad. Some time after, Khuzima began to show the ill traits of his character: he proposed to Joseph the pontiff, to purchase from him three villages which belonged to the pontificate. Joseph very consistently refused to part with the goods of the church. Hereupon the governor became a great enemy of the pontiff. As a first instance of his malice, he seized

A. D. 798. Haican era 247.

upon the village of Artashat, one of the three in question. Joseph's brother then threatened to appeal against him to the Caliph, which irritated the vindictive governor to such a degree, that he seized him and caused him to be strangled. This fatal event so much affected the pontiff that he fell sick and died, in the eleventh year of his pontificate. David the Second, from the village of Cacaz in the province of Maghaz, was then elected pontiff. Shortly after he assumed direction of the church, two brothers, Isaac and Joseph, both eminent characters, were martyred in Carin. Khuzima died in the twentieth year of his government, and immediately after the country was invaded by a horde of plunderers from Mesopotamia. On this occasion Ashot the Great, surnamed Misaker (the flesh-eater), assembling troops marched to repel these marauders. The Armenian chief proved successful, but his brother Shapuh, the grandson of Shapuh the historian, was killed in the action. Ashot then sent messengers to the caliph of Bagdad, informing him of the death of Khuzima and the invasion of the country. He also entreated him to restore his son Sumbat, who was then a hostage with him. Ashot shortly after this died.

A. D. 806. Haican era 255.

The next governor sent by the caliph of Bagdad, was Hawl or Howl. He was a bene-

A. D. 818. Haican era 263.

volent character and detested war. He was accompanied from Bagdad by Sumbat the son of Ashot, who had been raised to the dignity of general. Sumbat was surnamed Abulabas,
A. D. 825. Haican era 274. or the father of Abas. Some time after this, Sevada, a Saracen, son of Jahap, having married a Bagratian maiden named Arusiak, sought to overturn the power of the Saracens in Armenia. By his intrigues he induced Sumbat the general, Isaac the chief of the Seunies, and many other Armenian chiefs, to join in his plot. He then collected a large force and openly declared rebellion. Howl, on hearing this, hastily collected 5,000 of the most resolute of his troops, and marching with the greatest speed and secrecy, arrived at Sevada's camp on the banks of the river Hurastan. Without giving him the least intimation of his approach, he suddenly fell on the rebel's troops, who, taken by surprise, made very little resistance. About one half of them were killed, the rest took to flight. Isaac the Seunian was amongst the former, and his fellow-conspirators, Sevada and Sumbat, with difficulty effected their escape.

Howl then returned triumphantly to the capital; and immediately sending for the pontiff, imparted to him the news of his victory: he then pointed out all the consequences that generally

follow rebellions, and with great humanity regretted the effusion of human blood which the blamable conduct of the rebel chiefs had caused.

David the pontiff, then interceded with the governor in behalf of the surviving chiefs of the revolt, and succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between them and him; he also obtained permission to inter the remains of the ill-fated chiefs of the Seunies. The son of the latter, Gregory, surnamed Supan, never ceased mourning the untimely death of his father, although, by that event he had became chief of his race. In this age three Armenians were elected, at different periods, to the imperial throne of the Greeks. Two of them, Vardan and Arshavir, only held that high post for a few days. The other, Levond an Arzrunian, reigned seven years. Not long after this period prince Manuel, of the tribe of the Mamiconians, greatly distinguished himself at the court of the emperor by undaunted valour and skill in war.

During the life of this Armenian worthy, the pontiff David died, having presided over the church twenty-seven years. He was succeeded by Johannes the Fifth, from the village of Vikais in the province of Cotais, a good and humble character, delighting in the service of God, and living according to the most rigid rules of

A. D. 833. Haican era 282.

monastic devotion. In the third year of his pontificate, Howl the governor was recalled by the caliph, after ruling the Armenians seventeen years, with as much happiness to them as credit to himself. The next governor was Bagarat or Bagrat, a Bagratian, chief of Mount Shem, and a relation of Sumbat the general, to whose interest, and the influence of a few others, he owed his appointment. At this period flourished Nana, a Syrian archdeacon, a man of great acquirements and a philosopher. By order of Bagarat, Nana made commentaries on the gospel of St. John, following the example of Johannes Chrysostom. He afterwards translated these commentaries into the language of the Saracens, and presented them to Bagarat, who was well versed in that tongue. Sometime afterwards, Sumbat the Bagratian caused these works to be translated into Armenian. During the government of Bagarat, a Persian chief of the name of Baban, an arrogant and haughty man, having collected an immense army, began to make inroads into Armenia, under the idea of reducing it to the Persian power. He was opposed by an army consisting of 100,000 men, sent against him by Mavun, the caliph of Bagdad, under the command of Afshin. A battle ensued which terminated in favour of Baban, 30,000 of the Saracens being slain on the field.

A. D. 835. Haican era 284.

A. D. 839. Haican era 288.

After this victory Baban marched to the conquest of Armenia, which he was almost certain, from his late success, to effect. In the meantime Sumbat the general gathered all the Armenian troops and joined the discomfited Saracens. A second battle then took place near Mount Ararat, and after a long and bloody contest the Persians were put to flight. Baban was overtaken in his retreat by Sahl the son of Sumbat the general, and taken prisoner. He was brought to Afshin the commander of the Saracens, who ordered his feet and hands to be first cut off, and then caused him to be crucified. Afshin loaded Sahl with gifts for his exertions in capturing the Persian invader, and on his return to Bagdad, spoke to the Caliph both of him and his father Sumbat in the highest terms of commendation. While the Caliph was seeking for some employment to confer on Sahl, as a reward for his gallant services, this promising young man was cut off in the bloom of his age by a premature death. In proportion to the praises which Afshin bestowed on Sumbat and his son, he vilified the governor Bagarat, as if the latter had been of no service at all to the Saracens in the late war. The Caliph, on this account, regarded the governor with an eye of suspicion and dislike. In the sixth year of the government of Bagarat, and the

A. D. 840 Haican era 289.

eighth year of the pontificate of Johannes, some ill-disposed persons having fabricated calumnies against the conduct of the pontiff, found means to induce the governor to join with them in a plot to depose him from the pontificate. On the pontiff being informed of this conspiracy he forthwith publicly excommunicated Bagarat, and retired to one of the convents of Ayrs in the province of Gelam. On his flight becoming known, much tumult and disorder broke out in the nation. In order to extinguish these feuds, the chiefs assembled, together with the Armenian bishops, in the city of Erunjak, and there caused an inquiry to be made into the truth of the tales which had been spread abroad prejudicial to the pontiff's character. The result of this was a complete justification of his conduct, upon which the chiefs immediately recalled him, and reinstated him in the pontificate. It appeared that three individuals were the authors of those slanderous reports which had gained currency among the people regarding the pontiff. Bagarat, who had not been invited to the beforementioned assembly, being irritated at the restoration of Johannes, refused to acknowledge the legality of its proceedings, and attempted to elect another pontiff.

A. D. 841. Haican era 290.

A. D. 842. Haican era 291.

Hereupon much confusion prevailed in the country. While he was engaged in seeking

means to overthrow Johannes, the three slanderers before alluded to were seized, and openly punished for their malignity. In the course of a few years Bagarat himself was involved in trouble, being accused to the caliph of Bagdad of maladministration in his government, and as the latter, it will be recollected, had been previously prejudiced aginst him by the reports of Afshin, he endeavoured now to wreak his vengeance on him. As a first instance of his anger, he displaced him from the government, in the thirteenth year of his administration. Bagarat not choosing to expose himself to future ill from the Caliph, hid himself in a secret place. Abuseth, who was sent to supersede Bagarat, came into Armenia at the head of a body of troops; and while marching through the province of Taron, he received intelligence that Bagarat lay concealed there. Abuseth having found means to convey messages to him, invited him, under the promise of safety, to visit him; but no sooner had he decoyed him into his camp than he loaded him with chains and sent him to Bagdad. Bagarat, to avoid the rage of the Caliph, was obliged outwardly to change his religion. In the meantime the inhabitants of Mount Shem, who are called Sasuns, indignant at Abuseth's breach of faith in seizing Bagarat, took up arms, and falling upon the Saracens

A. D. 847. Haican era 296.

A. D. 848. Haican era 297.

A. D. 849. Haican era 298.

quite unexpectedly, put them to flight, after killing the governor, the object of their resentment. When the Caliph was informed of the death of Abuseth, and the dispersion of his troops, he became enraged, and assembling an immense army, put it under the command of Bulah or Pula (the Bull,) a man devoted to his interests, having been born and reared in his house. He directed him to march immediately into Armenia, to take vengeance for the late defeat: Bulah also received orders to seize all the Armenian chiefs and send them in chains to Bagdad, and to kill all whom he found in condition to carry arms.

Any of the people, however, who consented to forsake christianity and embrace the religion of the Saracens, he received directions to spare, provided that they were strong and handsome; if they were homely, notwithstanding their inclination to abjure their religion, they were to be delivered to the sword. The refuse of the people he was commanded not to notice, they being beneath the anger of the Caliph.

CHAPTER XXII.

The government of Bulah, with an account of his cruelties, and the pontificate of Zechariah.

BULAH, being appointed governor of Armenia, marched into that devoted country to execute the cruel orders he had received from the Caliph. He first appeared in the province of Taron, the inhabitants of which were thrown into the greatest terror on his approach. Here he found means to entrap Ashot and David the two sons of Bagarat, Gregory the Mamiconian, with many other chiefs, and sent them all in chains to Bagdad. He then sent detachments of his army to scour the vallies of Mount Shem, and those parts of the mountain which were inhabited, where they massacred every living soul they found. The Armenians inhabiting the summit of Mount Shem, urged to desperation by the prospect of meeting the same fate which they beheld their countrymen beneath experience, rushed in great numbers down to attack the murderers. But the Saracens being in possession of all the passes of the mountain, met the

A. D. 850. Haican era 299.

unfortunate Armenians in their descent, killed a great number and made many prisoners. These they bound with ropes and dragged into the presence of the governor. Bulah, according to his instructions, selected the most comely, and put them in confinement, with a view to their being prevailed upon to renounce their religion; the remainder he ordered to be butchered before his eyes. A similar scene occurred more than once in the other provinces of that country.

A. D. 851. Haican era 300. The news of these horrors having reached the ears of Ashot the celebrated chief of the Arzrunians, he meditated resistance: but the other chiefs, without whose assistance he could effect little, were averse to the plan.

Ashot having no other alternative, then went to meet Bulah, under the persuasion that he might mollify him by gifts. He was deceived, for on coming into the presence of the governor he was ordered to be shackled, and sent with his wife and the whole of his family to Bagdad. Bulah then marched to the province of Vaspurakan, and spread his troops all over the land, with orders to seize and bind all who were able to carry arms. As in Taron, he separated the finest men from the rest, and put them in confinement; the others were inexorably consigned to death. The slaughter was immense, and, as the records state, human blood

manured the land, and the vallies were literally choked up by the corpses of their former inhabitants. Those whom the bloody governor spared, were incessantly tormented to embrace the religion of the Saracens, and when it was found that many determinedly adhered to their faith, they were tortured until death relieved them from their sufferings.

From this province he marched to the country about Mount Ararat. Sumbat the general, viewing the calamities to which his country was delivered up, and feeling convinced that all resistance would be vain, went to Bulah with great presents to endeavour to soften him. Bulah, contrary to his usual custom, received the general with kindness and respect, and associated him with himself in all hazardous enterprizes, in all of which Sumbat proved himself worthy of the confidence which was placed in him. Bulah, shortly afterwards entered the capital Duin, whence he dispatched parties of his troops to ravage the provinces of Ararat. The more comely of the inhabitants, as before, were spared and brought to the governor; the others were slain immediately on their falling into the hands of the soldiers. A few days after their being sent to him, Bulah commenced persecuting the captives taken in Ararat, on account of their religion. Many were tortured

A. D. 852. Haican era 301.

by him to that degree that they scarcely exhibited one feature by which they might be recognized as human beings. After enduring all that the cruel ingenuity of their tormentors could devise, they were burnt alive. Among the victims that were hourly exposed to torture and death in the city of Duin, were seven men from the province of Albak, the chief of whom was Atom. These were so noble in stature, and so beautiful in countenance, that they struck almost every beholder with admiration. Bulah tried every gentle method to induce them to renounce their faith, but all was ineffectual. When he perceived this, he tortured them; but the same power which enabled them to withstand the solicitations of their tormentor, gave them fortitude to endure all the severity with which he treated them. They were afterwards crucified.

A. D. 853. Haican era 302.

The execution of these and the others whom we have noticed, took place in the years 852 and 853. Johannes the pontiff subsequently appointed a day to celebrate the feast of these martyrs. The inexorable severity of the governor at length roused to exertion those chiefs who had not yet fallen into his hands, and who had taken refuge in places where they could bid defiance to the tyrant. These having collected a few troops took post in a certain valley, through which one of the detachments of the

Saracens had to pass in returning from one of their excursions, in which they had taken a number of prisoners. Here they attacked and massacred a great number of them, and released their captive countrymen. Before, however, they had time to make good their retreat, they were surrounded by other detachments of the enemy, and after a brave resistance were obliged to surrender. On being taken to Bulah, he ordered them to be dreadfully tortured and then martyred, by cutting off their heads. Among these gallant, but unfortunate Armenians, were George of the tribe of Akies, and Khosrove of that of the Gabeliens, whose bodies after their death were noticed to possess many miraculous properties. Shortly after this, the governor dispatched troops to the provinces of the Seunies and Sisakans, there to act the same horrors as they had done in the other parts of Armenia. He gave them particular directions to seize all the nobles of these provinces, and especially Vasak the chief of the Sisakans, and Ashot his brother, the sons of Babken. The chiefs, on hearing this, retired into impregnable forts in the province of Balas. Vasak, however, having delayed rather longer than the rest, was surrounded by the Saracens, but by a little stratagem succeeded in escaping from them. On their discovering his flight, they pursued him

A. D. 854. Haican era 303.

with such celerity, that he found there was no hope of escape by avoiding them. He then boldly determined to oppose them, and drawing his sword, rushed in amongst them like a wild boar at bay. His valour and strength astonished the Saracens, who seeing him kill all before him, took to flight. Vasak succeeded in overtaking their general, whom he brought to the ground by a blow with his sword, and trampled to death beneath his horse's feet. He then made off eastward, to the country of the Gardmans, whose chief, Carich, gave him apparently a most kind reception.

The traitor, however, only made a shew of hospitality, for in a short time he seized the ill-fated Vasak by surprise, and sent him in chains to Bulah. The tyrant was overjoyed at the capture of the chief, and doubled his chains. Immediately after this, the Saracen troops having perceived the position where Vasak's brother Ashot and his mother had taken refuge, surrounded the place and took them prisoners, with several other chiefs, who were residing with them. They were then sent to Bulah, who shackled them and kept them in strict confinement. Bulah, shortly after this, marched with his troops to Arzakh in the province of Cachen in (Kharabagh), and captured Atirnerseh the chief, with his family, and many other distinguished

persons. He also slaughtered thousands of the other inhabitants of that province, insomuch, say the old records, that the earth was drunk with the blood of innocent men. From Cachen he proceeded to the province of Uti and the country of the Gardmans. He laid seige to the castle of the chief Carich, the betrayer of Vasak, and having taken it, loaded him with chains, after massacring most of his followers. He also captured Stephen, surnamed Con, chief of the Sevordies, and destroyed his city named Tus. Bulah then marched to the country of the Aluans, marking the whole of his route with blood, and desolating the country like a pestilence as he advanced. Isaiah, the chief of the Aluans, with all his family, together with almost all the chiefs of his nation, fell into the hands of the destroyer, the country exhibiting more the appearance of a slaughter-house than a place of residence for human beings. From thence Bulah proceeded to Tiflis, where he crucified Isaac the chief of Vanand, and martyred Mockathel of the same tribe. He then returned to Duin, accompanied by his captives, led in the most degrading form of slavery, and on his arrival at that city, he assembled together all the prisoners whom he had taken in Armenia, and then set out on his return to Bagdad. The government was delivered over

to a Persian named Shekhey, who was invested with the supreme authority during Bulah's absence.

Bulah persuaded Sumbat the general to accompany him, by solemnly declaring his conviction that the Caliph, in reward for his fidelity, would confer upon him the government of Armenia. He also took with him the Syrian Deacon Nana, of whom we before gave some particulars. When the Armenian chiefs and other captives were presented to the caliph at Bagdad, he spoke to them in a threatening tone and manner, and ordered Sumbat the general to be bound and placed with the other prisoners, whom Bulah had before sent him. Then commenced the most horrible persecution. The Caliph only gave them one alternative, torture and death, or to renounce christianity and embrace his religion. Many, unable to endure the idea of the tortures with which they were threatened, outwardly professed to renounce christianity. Others, more firm, gloriously died in defence of their faith. Among these latter Stephen Con was conspicuous for his unshaken fortitude. Sumbat was more mildly dealt with. On his refusing to abjure his religion, he was placed in the strictest confinement, where he bitterly bewailed his having joined Bulah during the time that bloody tyrant was de-

solating his country. He incessantly prayed to God for pardon for this one black act in his life, and during one of his earnest supplications to the Almighty on this subject, his soul was released from his body. This event occurred A. D. 856, H. E. 305. He was subsequently surnamed the Confessor.

During the time that Bulah was devastating Armenia, Johannes the pontiff, afraid to remain in Duin, wandered about various parts of the country avoiding the sword of the Saracens. He at length found a safe asylum in the convent of Makenoses in the province of Gelarcunies, where he died of a broken heart, A. D. 854, H. E. 303. He possessed the pontificate twenty-two years. His successor was Zechariah, from the village of Zag in the province of Cotais, and as a mark of the turbulence and calamity of the times in which he lived, it is sufficient to mention that in one day he was ordained deacon and priest, and consecrated bishop and pontiff. He presided over the church twenty-one years, and made many improvements in the spiritual condition of the Armenians during the days of Ashot, with whom commenced the power of the Bagratian potentates. A. D. 854. Haican era 303.

Shekhey the Persian, whom Bulah had left in Armenia as officiating governor, enjoyed A. D. 855. Haican era 304.

that office four years, and directed affairs in a manner which brought as much credit to his character, as ease and comfort to the people.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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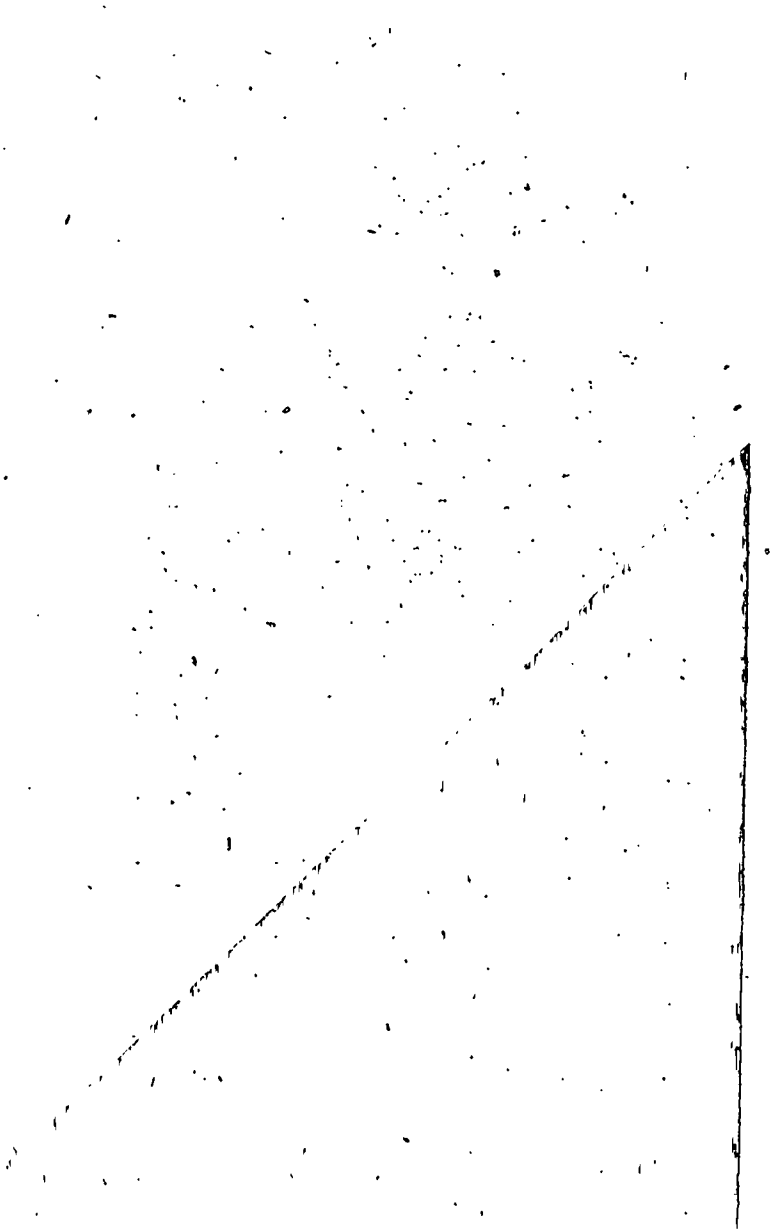

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